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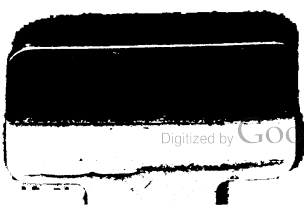

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION

OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

Earl of Orford,

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

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MEMOIRS

OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

PERIOD THE FOURTH:

From the Acceſſion of GEORGE the Second, to the Reſignation of Lord TOWNSHEND;

1727—1730.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIRST: 1727.

Acceſſion and Character of George the Second.—Education.—Character.—Perſon.—Conduct.—and Influence of Queen Caroline.—Account of Mrs. Howard, afterwards Counteſs of Suffolk.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

GEORGE the Second, ſon of George the Firſt, by Sophia, princeſs of Luneburgh Zell, was born at Hanover the 30th of October 1683, and principally educated under the direction of his grandmother, the electreſs Sophia. Being at a very early period initiated into the profeſſion of arms, he made the campaign of 1708 with the allied army in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a volunteer at the battle of Oudenard, where he charged the enemy

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons, and had his horſe ſhot under him *. In 1708, he was created duke of Cambridge, and knight of the garter; and at the acceſſion of George the Firſt, was ſo elated, that he ſaid to an Engliſh gentleman, "I have not one drop of blood in my veins which is not Engliſh, and at the ſervice of my father's ſubjects †." He accompanied the king to England; ſoon after he had taken his ſeat in the privy council, was created prince of Wales; and during the king's abſence in 1716, was appointed guardian and lieutenant of the realm.

The unfortunate miſunderſtanding which took place between him and his father, has been already related; and although a reconciliation was effected through the interpoſition of Devonſhire and Walpole, yet it was more apparent than real: the king gave a ſtrong proof that his jealouſy was not abated, by never again conſigning to him the government of affairs during his abſence. Notwithſtanding this cauſe of diſſatisfaction, the prince, from the period of the reconciliation, ſeldom formally oppoſed his father's government; but paſſed a retired life, confining himſelf principally to a ſmall circle of ſelect friends, with whom he lived in habits of ſtrict intimacy: of theſe, the earl of Scarborough and Sir Spencer Compton were the moſt favoured.

George the Second was, at the time of his acceſſion, in the 45th year of his age; and bore the character

* Rimius's Memoirs of the Houſe of Brunſwick.

† Polnitz, vol. iv. p. 230. 232.

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character of a prince of high integrity, honour, and veracity. His countenance was pleaſing, dignified, and expreſſive, with prominent eyes, and a Roman noſe. In perſon he was well proportioned, but much below the middle ſize; to which the ballad on the ſeven wiſe men alludes, ſpeaking of Richard, afterwards lord Edgecumbe, who was very diminutive: Chapter 31. 1727.

" When Edgecumbe ſpoke, the prince in ſport
Laugh'd at the merry elf;
Rejoic'd to ſee within his court
One ſhorter than himſelf.

I am glad (cry'd out the quibbling ſquire)
My *lowneſs* makes your highneſs *higher*."

He poſſeſſed one great advantage over his father, that he was not ignorant of the language and conſtitution of England, although his knowledge of both was limited. He was naturally reſerved, except to thoſe who belonged to his houſehold, or were admitted to his familiar ſociety, fond of buſineſs, and of great application whenever application was neceſſary; well acquainted with the ſtate of foreign affairs; and his obſervations, and replies to the notes of his miniſters, dictated by the occaſion, prove good ſenſe, judgment, and rectitude of intentions *. His temper was warm, vehement, and irritable; prone to ſudden emotions of anger, and not eaſily appeaſed. He was ſlow in deliberation, cautious in deciſion; but his opinion once formed, he became inflexible, and impatient of

* Correſpondence, Period IV.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

of remonſtrance. He was ſtrictly œconomical, punctual in the diſcharge of his expences; ſo peculiarly methodical in all his actions and occupations, that, to uſe the expreſſion of a nobleman much about his perſon, "he ſeemed to think his having done a thing to-day, an unanſwerable reaſon for his doing it to-morrow *." He was rigidly attached to etiquette and punctilious forms, and fond of military parade; without the ſmalleſt taſte for the arts, or love of ſcience, like his father, he gave no patronage to literature, unleſs from the ſuggeſtions of his queen, or the interceſſion of his miniſters. Cold and phlegmatic in his general appearance, he at the ſame time poſſeſſed a high degree of ſenſibility; of which he gave many proofs, particularly on the death of his queen, and the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, which would appear incredible to thoſe who are not acquainted with his domeſtic character. The love of women was his predominant weakneſs; but it did not lead him into any exceſſes which affected his public character, or interfered with the intereſts of his kingdom. He had ſeen, and lamented, that his father had been governed by his miſtreſſes; and was ſo extremely cautious to avoid a ſimilar error, that the counteſs of Yarmouth, the only one among them who poſſeſſed any real influence over him, could ſeldom venture to exert her intereſt in public concerns. She once requeſted Horace Walpole to procure a trifling place for one of her ſervants,

* Lord Hervey to H. Walpole, Oct. 31, 1735.

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ſervants, but charged him not to mention to the king that it was at her requeſt; "becauſe (ſhe added) if it is known that I have applied, I have no chance of ſucceeding *. Chapter 3d. 1727.

But his conduct was far different in regard to queen Caroline, of whoſe judgment and good ſenſe he had the higheſt opinion, and in whom he ever placed the moſt implicit confidence. Some of the French writers call hiſtory *la fable convenue*, and not without ſome degree of reaſon; for moſt hiſtories are written either by authors who have been themſelves intereſted in the events which they relate, and gloſs over the tranſactions of their own party, or are compoſed by writers who have not acceſs to original papers, know little more than common occurrences, and derive the principal information from uncertain publications, traditional reports, gazettes, and news-papers. The perſonage whoſe character I am attempting to delineate, will afford a ſtriking example of the truth of theſe obſervations; for it is a remarkable fact, that the hiſtorians of the reign of George the Second, ſcarcely mention the name of queen Caroline, who almoſt entirely governed the king during the firſt ten years of his reign; who bore her faculties ſo meekly, and with ſuch extraordinary prudence, as never to excite the leaſt uneaſineſs even in a ſovereign highly tenacious of his authority, but contrived that her opinion ſhould appear as if it had been his own; who ſolely occaſioned the Conduct to queen Caroline.

* From Lord Walpole.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

the continuance of Sir Robert Walpole in the miniſtry; who patroniſed and promoted Herring, Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, Sherlocke, Butler, and Pearce; and without whoſe recommendation or concurrence, ſcarely any ſituation in church or ſtate was conferred.

Her education, character, and perſon.

Carolina Wilhelmina, daughter of John Frederic, Margrave of Anſpach, by the princeſs of Saxe-Eyſenach, was born in 1683. Having loſt her father when ſhe was very young, and her mother marrying John George the Fourth, elector of Saxony, ſhe was left under the guardianſhip of Frederic, elector of Brandenburgh, afterwards king of Pruſſia; paſſed part of her early days at the court of Berlin *, and received her education under the ſuperintendance of her aunt, the accompliſhed Sophia Charlotte †, ſiſter of George the Firſt,

* Polnitz.

† Sophia Charlotte, the ſecond wife of Frederic, was the daughter of Erneſt Auguſtus, elector of Hanover. This elegant and accompliſhed princeſs was born in 1668; and in 1681, having eſpouſed Frederic, then electoral prince, became, on his acceſſion to the throne, the great ornament of his ſplendid court. Her features were regular, yet expreſſive; her form, though below the middle ſtature, was elegant and graceful; her demeanour dignified and polite; and her conduct ever irreproachable. She never interfered in affairs of ſtate, though always ready, when called upon, to aid with her counſels, journies, and correſpondence, the views of the king. Her underſtanding was highly cultivated; ſhe ſpoke the principal languages of Europe with ſuch eaſe and fluency, that ſhe uſually addreſſed herſelf to foreigners in their reſpective tongues; ſhe was well verſed in hiſtory, converſant in different branches of natural philoſophy, and not unacquainted even with ſcholaſtic divinity. Though her learning was ſo profound, that ſhe was ſtiled the Female Philoſopher, ſhe was not only extremely diffident, but careful to avoid the affectation of wiſhing to diſplay her multifarious acquirements. She was no ſtranger to the polite accompliſhments, fond of dancing, and did not diſdain to be an actreſs in plays which were performed by her command: ſhe excelled in muſic, ſung and compoſed with taſte; and was the great patroneſs of ſcience and the arts. She drew Leibnitz to Berlin, and aſtoniſhed that great philoſopher with the extent of her capacity, the depth of her reſearches, and the ſolidity of her

 obſervations.

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Firſt. From her example and inſtructions, ſhe imbibed that politeneſs of demeanour and dignity of character, thoſe ſentiments of philoſophy, that ardent love of learning, and fondneſs for metaphyſical knowledge, which merited the eulogium of Clarke and Leibnitz. Chapter 31. 1727.

She gave an early inſtance of her attachment to the proteſtant religion. The fame of her beauty and accompliſhments attracted the notice of the archduke Charles, ſon of the emperor Leopold the Firſt, and afterwards Emperor himſelf, who made a tender of his hand. Not allured by the ſplendor of the family into which ſhe might have been adopted, ſhe declined the offer without heſitation: "But Providence (obſerves Addiſon) kept a ſtore in reward for ſuch an exalted virtue; and, by the ſecret methods of its wiſdom, opened a way for her

obſervations. She died at Hanover in 1705, on a viſit to her mother the electreſs Sophia, in the 37th year of her age; and diſplayed on her death-bed the utmoſt calmneſs and reſignation. To the king her huſband ſhe wrote a tender letter, thanking him for his care, and recommending her domeſtics to his protection. To her brother, who was diſconſolate at her approaching diſſolution, ſhe ſaid, "Nothing is ſo natural as death; I have long conſidered it as a debt; and though I am young enough to have lived a few years longer, yet I feel no regret in dying." When La Bergerie, a Calviniſt miniſter, offered his ſpiritual aſſiſtance, ſhe ſaid; "Friends are proved in time of neceſſity; you offer your aſſiſtance at a moment when I can no longer ſerve you; accept my thanks, which are all that I can beſtow." Then turning to him, as he was going to exhort her, ſhe continued; "For twenty years I have ſeriouſly examined my religion; I have peruſed the books which treat on that ſubject with too much attention to be in the ſmalleſt doubt; you can ſay nothing to me which I do not know; and I can aſſure you, that I depart in tranquillity." Her phyſician repreſenting to her that ſhe increaſed her complaint by ſpeaking; "Adieu then, La Bergerie (ſhe added); I remain your good friend." Obſerving one of her attendants weeping, ſhe exclaimed, "Why do you weep? could you think that I was immortal?" And then ſtretching out her hand to her brother; "Dear brother, (ſhe cried) I am ſuffocated;" and in an inſtant expired.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

her to become the greateſt of her ſex among thoſe who profeſs that faith to which ſhe adhered with ſo much Chriſtian magnanimity *."

Caroline eſpouſed, in 1705, George the Second, then electoral prince of Hanover. She was eſteemed handſome before ſhe had the ſmall-pox, and became too corpulent. Tickell did not flatter her in his poem of Kenſington Gardens, when he ſaid;

> " Here England's daughter, darling of the land,
> Sometimes, ſurrounded with her virgin band,
> Gleams through the ſhades. She, tow'ring o'er the reſt,
> Stands faireſt of the fairer kind confeſt;
> Form'd to gain hearts that Brunſwick's cauſe deny'd,
> And charm a people to her father's ſide †."

She had a hand and arm greatly admired for its whiteneſs and elegance, a penetrating eye, " and a ſmile celeſtial ‡," an expreſſive countenance, great ſweetneſs and grace, particularly when ſhe ſpoke. But theſe charms of her perſon were far ſurpaſſed by the endowments of her mind. She poſſeſſed quickneſs of apprehenſion, a natural good underſtanding, which had been duly cultivated; and obtained a conſiderable knowledge in many branches of uſeful and polite literature §.

Her levees were a ſtrange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while ſhe was at her toilette; prayers, and ſometimes a ſermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed

* Freeholder, No. 21.
† Tickell's Kenſington Gardens, p. 258.
‡ Tickell. § Rimius.

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mixed with courtiers and ladies of the houſehold: the converſation turned on metaphyſical ſubjects, blended with repartees, ſallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room. She had a happy turn for converſation, and a readineſs in adapting her diſcourſe to the perſons with whom ſhe talked; poſſeſſed peculiar talents for mirth and humour; excelled in mimicry, and was fond of diſplaying it; was pleaſed with making a repartee herſelf, and with hearing it from others. Her conduct, during the unfortunate miſunderſtanding which took place between George the Firſt and her huſband, when prince of Wales, was ſo prudent and dignified, that the late king always behaved to her with marks of due reſpect and affection, though he never cordially loved her. Yet notwithſtanding her courteſy, affability of deportment, condeſcenſion to men of letters, and fondneſs for ſocial intercourſe, ſhe had a high notion of the regal ſtation, and was partial to the etiquette of a court; ſhe ſeldom forgot that ſhe was a queen, and always kept up a due ſtate both in public and private. She would occaſionally dine with Sir Robert Walpole at Chelſea; but even her viſits to a favourite miniſter were ſubjected to form and etiquette: ſhe ſat down to table with lady Walpole, the royal family whom ſhe brought with her, and the lady in waiting: Sir Robert always ſtood behind her chair, and gave her the firſt plate; then retired into another apartment, where dinner was ſerved for him and the queen's houſehold *.

Chapter 31. 1727.

Queen

* From Lord Orford.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

Queen Caroline was fond of converſing and corresponding with men of learning, and particularly with divines, whom ſhe often perplexed with queſtions concerning the doctrines of the different churches, and conſulted with a view of ſettling her faith. Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, and Sherlocke, were among the number to whom ſhe principally applied. She carried on a correſpondence on theſe ſubjects, by means of her bed-chamber woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterwards lady Sundon, who had acquired a powerful aſcendancy over her. The divine whom ſhe moſt particularly noticed, and by whoſe converſation ſhe often owned that ſhe was moſt inſtructed, was Dr. Clarke, whoſe profound learning, in all branches of ſacred and profane literature, was ſcarcely ever equalled, whoſe piety was unqueſtioned, and whoſe playful manners and placid temper rendered him as amiable as he was learned. Dr. Clarke had only the rectory of St. James's, which was given him by queen Anne, and the maſterſhip of Wigſton Hoſpital; and queen Caroline propoſed placing him on the bench, an honour which Clarke invariably declined. Finding that he perſiſted in his refuſal, ſhe deſired Sir Robert Walpole to try the powers of his rhetoric, which had never been employed in vain on a ſimilar occaſion. The miniſter obeyed; and in a conference at Kenſington palace, uſed every argument in his power to prevail on Clarke to accept the proffered dignity; when Clarke declined, he continued to preſs it; and the conference was ſo long, that the candles were

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were burnt down in the ſockets; and the pages came into the apartment to know if freſh lights were not wanted *. But the rhetoric of the miniſter had no effect, and the queen was highly diſappointed, that ſhe was prevented from placing Dr. Clarke on the bench of biſhops. Chapter 31. 1727.

Queen Caroline maintained a correſpondence with Leibnitz on the moſt abſtract ſciences, in which ſhe ſupremely delighted; and in the courſe of this literary intercourſe, the German philoſopher having inſinuated ſome ſuſpicions that the foundations of natural religion were in danger of being hurt by the doctrines of Sir Iſaac Newton, ſhe applied to Clarke for an anſwer to this ſuggeſtion. The anſwer brought on a reply, and the reply a ſecond anſwer, and the controverſy was carried on with all the ſpirit and learning which thoſe great philoſophers could throw into ſuch dry ſubjects as the principles of natural religion and philoſophy, and free-will and fatality. They ſubmitted their reſpective arguments to the princeſs as to an umpire; and vied in unfolding their ſyſtems in as conſpicuous a manner as the nature of ſo intricate a ſubject would allow. The princeſs was highly flattered with this arbitration, and permitted Dr. Clarke, whoſe opinion ſhe ſeems to have embraced, to dedicate to her the account of the controverſy. In this dedication, the learned author has not omitted to pay a tribute to her deſire of knowledge and love of truth, in a ſtrain of panegyric

* From Lord Orford and Etough's Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

panegyric which could hardly be avoided on such an occasion. Nor was it solely dictated by flattery; for Whiston * informs us, that he often heard Clarke speak with admiration of her marvellous sagacity and judgment, in the several parts of the dispute.

But although this accomplished princess possessed considerable influence over George the Second, she had acted with so much caution, and behaved with such moderation and prudence, that she was considered at the time of his accession, by the party in opposition, as a mere cypher, and the whole power and influence over the king was supposed to be lodged in the hands of Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk.

Character of Mrs. Howard, Countess of Suffolk.

Henrietta, sister of John, the first earl of Buckinghamshire, was eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart †, of Blickling, in Norfolk, and espoused Charles Howard, younger son of Henry, fifth earl of Suffolk, whom she accompanied to Hanover before the death of queen Anne. Having ingratiated herself into the favour of Caroline, then electoral princess, she accompanied her to England, and became her bed-chamber woman. If we were to draw an estimate of the understanding and character of Mrs. Howard, from the representations of Pope ‡, Swift, and Gay, during the time

* Whiston's Historical Memoirs of Clarke.

† Collins's Peerage.

‡ See Pope's Letters to Swift, October 25th, 1725.—Miscellanies. Swift's Character of Mrs. Howard.—Gay's Epistle to Pope; and other parts of their respective works.

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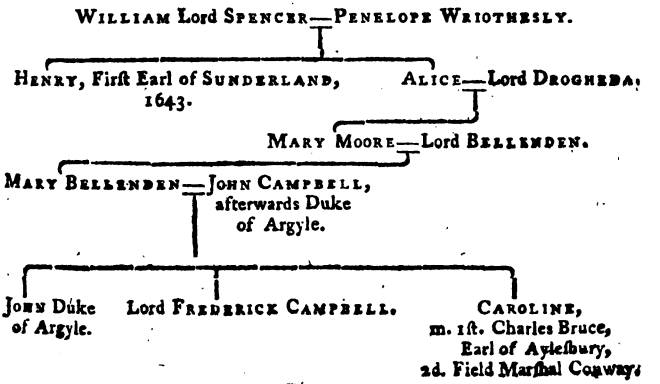
time of her favour, we might ſuppoſe that ſhe poſſeſſed every accompliſhment and good quality which were ever the lot of a woman. Chapter 31. 1727.

The real truth is, that Mrs. Howard was more remarkable for beauty than for underſtanding, and the paſſion which the king entertained for her, was rather derived from chance * than from any combination of thoſe tranſcendant qualities, which Swift and Pope aſcribed to their court divinity. She had been long wholly unnoticed by the prince, who was enamoured of another lady that was more cruel to the royal lover than Mrs. Howard. This lady was the beautiful and lively Mary Bellenden, daughter of lord Bellenden †, maid of honour to queen Caroline, when princeſs of Wales, and

* From Lord Orford.

† Sir William Bellenden, created a peer after the reſtoration of Charles the Second, died unmarried, making a conveyance of his eſtate and honour to John Ker, a younger ſon of William, the ſecond earl of Roxburgh, who then changed his name to Bellenden, and took the arms. He married Mary, widow of William Ramſay, third earl of Dalhouſee, and daughter of Henry Moore, firſt earl of Drogheda, by Alice his wife, daughter of William lord Spencer, by Penelope, daughter of Henry Wriotheſly, earl of Southampton.


WILLIAM Lord SPENCER—PENELOPE WRIOTHESLY.
HENRY, Firſt Earl of SUNDERLAND, 1643.
ALICE—Lord DROGHEDA.
MARY MOORE—Lord BELLENDEN.
MARY BELLENDEN—JOHN CAMPBELL, afterwards Duke of Argyle.
JOHN Duke of Argyle.
Lord FREDERICK CAMPBELL.
CAROLINE, m. 1ſt. Charles Bruce, Earl of Aylesbury, 2d. Field Marſhal Conway.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

and a great friend of Mrs. Howard. Gay alludes to her, in his ballad entitled Damon and Cupid, as one of the reigning beauties:

"So well I'm known at court,
"None aſks where Cupid dwells;
"But readily reſort,
"To *Bellenden*'s or Lepell's."

She is alſo thus deſcribed in an old ballad, made upon the quarrel between George the Firſt and the prince of Wales, at the chriſtening, when the prince and all his houſehold were ordered to quit St. James's:

"But *Bellenden* we needs muſt praiſe,
"Who, as down the ſtairs ſhe jumps;
"Sings over the hills and far away,
"Deſpiſing doleful dumps."

This lovely and elegant woman rejected the addreſſes of the prince, and eſpouſed, in 1720, John Campbell, then groom of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, and afterwards duke of Argyle. She was highly favoured by queen Caroline, and univerſally admired as an accompliſhed pattern of good ſenſe, and exemplary conduct.

The prince, after having communicated his paſſion for Miſs Bellendon to Mrs. Howard, and being rejected, became enamoured of his confidante.

The queen's behaviour to Mrs. Howard.

Lord Cheſterfield has obſerved, in the unfavourable portrait * which he has drawn of queen Caroline, *that ſhe even favoured and promoted the galantries*

* Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son, alſo in Miſcellaneous Works, vol. 3.

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antries of the king. But this ſevere repreſentation is totally devoid of truth, and proves little knowledge of her real diſpoſition. It was a principle with her not to diſguſt the king with remonſtrances, or to appear diſſatisfied with his attentions to other women. But certainly never wife felt or lamented a huſband's infidelities more than herſelf; although ſhe had too much good ſenſe and prudence, and too much reſpect for her character to treat her rivals with marks of ill humour, or to ſhew, by her outward behaviour, ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſpleaſure. She was always able to diſguiſe her feelings and conceal her uneaſineſs. It was thus that her behaviour to Mrs. Howard led many to ſuppoſe that ſhe was in high eſtimation; and Swift, Pope, and Gay, repeatedly call her the chief favourite of the queen. Chapter 31. 1727.

To her particular friends, queen Caroline was not wanting in complaints of the king's infidelities, and ſhe uſed to call his favourite, by way of banter, her ſiſter Howard: this expreſſion was conſidered by the friends of the miſtreſs as a proof of the queen's partiality and kindneſs, whereas it was in reality the ſtrongeſt mark of averſion and contempt. But, in fact, the forced complacency of her outward behaviour, was a violent effort of prudence and diſcretion, and ſhe never failed to oppoſe the riſe of thoſe who paid their court to the miſtreſs. Among many inſtances which may be enumerated, I ſhall ſelect thoſe of Gay, Swift, and Cheſterfield. Jealouſy of her.

Gay

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

Gay began paying his court to her when she was electoral princess, and while he accompanied the earl of Clarendon as his secretary to Hanover. But the embassy lasted only nineteen days; and being disappointed of his hopes of preferment by the death of queen Anne, the poet turned himself towards the rising sun, and soon after the accession of George the First, drew the character of Caroline in a high strain of panegyric *.

Gay disappointed in his expectations from her protection.

The princess, not insensible to praise, received Gay, soon after her arrival in England, with great kindness, and gave him hopes of promotion. From this period he commenced courtier, paid a regular attendance, and was honoured with many marks of her patronage and protection. He continued, however, his attendance at court for twelve years without obtaining a solid reward of his assiduity. At her command, he wrote his fables for the duke of Cumberland, and being of a sanguine disposition, formed high expectations of promotion when the accession of George the Second would permit his patroness to provide for him. When that event took place, his hopes were greatly magnified on the queen's telling Mrs. Howard, in allusion to the fable of the Hare and many Friends †, that she would take up the hare. But his expectations were by these means raised so high, that he considered the offer of the place of gentleman usher

* An Epistle to a Lady, occasioned by the Arrival of the Princess of Wales.

† Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 170.

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uſher to the princeſs Louiſa, though above £. 200 a year, as an inſult, and rejected it with ſcorn. Chapter 31. 1727.

Swift was convinced that the miniſter had prevented the bounty of queen Caroline from being ſhewn to the author of the Hare and many Friends, and he obſerves, alluding to it in a copy of verſes addreſſed to Gay;

> " Fain would I think our female friend ſincere,
> " Till *Bob*, *the poet's foe*, poſſeſt her ear, &c."

In another place, Swift aſſerts, that it was principally owing to the dedication, prefixed to the Paſtorals, in honour of Bolingbroke, and to ſome expreſſions in his fables, which diſpleaſed the court. He repeats this accuſation in his letters and works, and had even the rudeneſs to hint it to Sir Robert Walpole himſelf, when he dined with him at Chelſea *. Gay was of the ſame opinion, and in the ſecond part of his fables, which were not printed till after his death, is full of ſarcaſtic and ſplenetic alluſions to the miniſter. But as Walpole was neither of a jealous or vindictive diſpoſition, there is no reaſon to give credit to the aſperſions of his enemies, and to ſuppoſe that he uſed his influence over queen Caroline, for the purpoſe of injuring Gay, particularly when another and a more natural motive of her conduct may be ſuggeſted.

In fact, Gay was the innocent cauſe of his own diſgrace, for he thought that Mrs. Howard was all powerful at court, and that he, whom Swift humorouſly

* Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 169.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

humorouſly calls * one of her led captains, ſhould riſe by her recommendation. Pope alſo, in a letter to Swift, alluding to Mrs. Howard, ſays, *Gay puts his whole truſt in that lady whom I deſcribed to you*, and whom you take to be an allegorical creature of fancy. And Gay thus expreſſes himſelf to Swift, "Mrs. Howard has declared herſelf very ſtrongly, both to the king and queen, as my protector †." But in theſe words, they unconſciouſly declare the cauſe of his diſfavour. The queen's jealouſy of the interference and credit of the miſtreſs, obſtructed his promotion; and his own indiſcretion afterwards, deſtroyed every hope. Soon after this diſappointment, he produced the Beggar's Opera; and both his converſation and writings were ſo full of invectives againſt the court, that all expectations of farther notice from the queen were obviouſly relinquiſhed.

Swift.

Swift alſo proved the ill policy of attempting to ingratiate himſelf with the queen through the medium of Mrs. Howard. With a view of changing his preferments in Ireland for others in England, which the princeſs ſeemed to expreſs an inclination to promote, he maintained a correſpondence with Mrs. Howard, whom he praiſed in the moſt fulſome manner, and courted with the moſt affected aſſiduity, by letters when he was abſent, and by conſtant perſonal attendance when he was in England. But as ſoon as the efforts of Mrs. Howard proved unſucceſsful, Swift turned his

* Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 168.

† Swift's Works, vol. 19. p. 252.

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his ſatire againſt her, on whom he had heaped ſuch unbounded encomiums, imputed his failure ſolely to her want of ſincerity; and reproached her in very bitter and diſreſpectful terms. Lady Betty Germaine, and his friend Gay, in vain endeavoured to juſtify Mrs. Howard, and to prove that ſhe was not to blame; but the miſanthropic Swift, when he had once formed his opinion, was not eaſily convinced by any arguments. He ſays, in a letter to lady Betty Germaine, "For theſe reaſons, I did always, and do ſtill think, Mrs. Howard, now lady Suffolk, an abſolute courtier." When this character was ſhewn to lady Suffolk, ſhe mildly obſerved, "It is very different from that which he ſent me himſelf, and which I have in his own hand writing *."

Chapter 31. 1727.

The earl of Cheſterfield is another remarkable inſtance. He had long coveted the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, and an arrangement had been made in his favour. After an audience of the queen, to which he was introduced by Walpole, and thanking her for her concurrence, he had the imprudence to make a long viſit to the miſtreſs; the queen was informed of the circumſtance, and his appointment did not take place †. At another time, he had requeſted the queen to ſpeak to the king for ſome trifling favour. The queen promiſed, but forgot it; a few days afterwards, recollecting her promiſe, ſhe expreſſed regret at her forgetfulneſs, and added, ſhe would certainly mention

Lord Cheſterfield,

* From lord Orford.

† Etough.—From the communication of Sir Robert Walpole.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

mention it that very day. Chesterfield replied, that her majesty need not give herself that trouble, for lady Suffolk had spoken to the king. The queen made no reply, but on seeing the king, told him she had long promised to mention a trifling request to his majesty, but it was now needless, because lord Chesterfield had just informed her, that she had been anticipated by lady Suffolk. The king, who always preserved great decorum with the queen, and was very unwilling to have it supposed that the favourite interfered, was extremely displeased, both with lord Chesterfield and his mistress. The consequence was that in a short time lady Suffolk went to Bath for her health and returned no more to court; Chesterfield was dismissed from his office of lord steward of the household, and never heard the reason until two years before his death, when he was informed by the late earl of Orford, that his disgrace was owing to his having offended the queen by paying court to lady Suffolk *.

* Her husband having succeeded to the title of earl of Suffolk, on the death of his brother in June 1731, she became countess of Suffolk. At the period of her retirement from court, she was a widow, her husband having died on the 28th of September 1733, and she espoused, in July 1735, George Berkley, fourth son of Charles, second earl of Berkley. Lady Suffolk lived to an advanced age, not dying till 1767; she left no issue, an only son, which she had by her first husband, dying in 1745 unmarried.

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CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SECOND:

1727.

Rumours of a Change in Adminiſtration.—Intrigues of the Tories, Pulteney, and Bolingbroke.—Character of Sir Spencer Compton, who declines the Office of prime Miniſter.—Continuation of Townſhend and Walpole, by the Intervention of Queen Caroline.—The good Effects of her Influence over the King.

THE news of the king's death had no ſooner reached London, than a general belief was current that the adminiſtration would be totally changed. It was credited, that Sir Robert Walpole had irretrievably offended the new king, when prince of Wales, as he had been frequently heard to proteſt, that when he came to the throne, that miniſter ſhould never be employed. Rumours of a change of miniſtry.

Pulteney, before their open rupture, had informed the prince of Wales of ſome diſreſpectful expreſſions uſed on a former occaſion, and told him that he was ſold to his father's miniſters, by perſons who conſidered nothing but themſelves and their own intereſt, and were in haſte to make their fortunes *. Since their quarrel, he had undoubtedly exaggerated this repreſentation, and, as he continued on good terms at Leiceſter Houſe, naturally uſed his whole credit againſt Walpole. Intrigues of Pulteney:

Bolingbroke and the Tories had alſo caballed at Leiceſter Houſe, and were ſupported by the whole weight Of Bolingbroke and the Tories.

* Anſwer to one Part of an infamous Libel.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

weight and influence of the favourite, Mrs. Howard. Swift alſo, in a letter to his friend Dr. Sheridan, mentions the hopes of the Tories, and the certain diſmiſſion of Walpole.

In fact, Walpole himſelf was at this moment convinced of his removal, and yet was well ſatisfied that his excluſion could not be of long continuance. In conformity with theſe ſentiments, he ſaid to his friend Sir William Yonge, "I ſhall certainly go out; but let me recommend you not to go into violent oppoſition, as we muſt ſoon come in again" *.

In this moment of probable diſgrace, Walpole was deſerted by many of his friends; and Sir Spencer Compton, whom the king had already avowed his intention of appointing miniſter, became the idol of the day. But the event turned out otherwiſe, and the public expectations were diſappointed.

Walpole ſupported by queen Caroline.

It is now well known, that the continuance of the new adminiſtration was principally owing to the influence of queen Caroline; and writers of great credit, but not acquainted with the interior ſituation of Leiceſter Houſe at that period, have not ſcrupled to aſcribe her patronage of Sir Robert Walpole, ſolely to the offers which he made to obtain from parliament a jointure of £. 100,000 a year, when Sir Spencer Compton could only venture to propoſe £. 60,000, as if motives of ſordid intereſt had *alone* induced the queen to protect

* From Sir George Yonge.

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protect the minister; and as if her conduct was derived from an instantaneous impulse, unconnected with any previous communication or intercourse. The offer had doubtless its due effect; but a number of circumstances combined to influence her in favour of Sir Robert Walpole. Chapter 32. 1727.

The queen was by no means ignorant of his character and abilities. While he was in opposition to government, from 1717 to 1720, he had continued in the highest favour with the prince of Wales. During this period, a woman of her good sense, could not fail of distinguishing that capacity for business, those powers of intellect, which raised him to the head of his party; and his wise and able conduct upon the failure of the South Sea scheme, naturally increased this prepossession in his favour.

He had, in conjunction with lord Townshend, gratified the prince of Wales, by obtaining from the king the garter for the earl of Scarborough. And count Broglio, the French embassador, observes * on this occasion, "That ministers not unfrequently procured places for those persons who were attached to the prince, from the consideration that the time might come, when such a conduct would turn out to their advantage."

The duke of Devonshire, who had always been the great friend and supporter of Walpole, had continued on good terms with the princess of Wales.

* Count Broglio to the king of France, 24 July, 1724. Correspondence, Period III.

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Wales. He had ſtrongly impreſſed her with ſentiments of high regard for his abilities and miniſterial capacity, and had repreſented him as the perſon who had principally counteracted the intrigues of the Jacobites, diſcovered the plot of biſhop Atterbury, and whoſe good offices were eſſentially employed in preſerving the family on the throne. Nor can a ſtronger proof be alledged of the height to which this confidential intercourſe was carried, than that the reſolution which he had once formed to reſign, was communicated by the duke of Devonſhire to the princeſs, and that ſhe perſuaded him to relinquiſh the deſign *.

But the principal cauſe which ſecured to him the protection of the queen, was his prudent behaviour in regard to Mrs. Howard. He had penetration ſufficient to foreſee, that George the Second would be governed by his wife, whom he adored, and of whoſe abilities and good ſenſe he had formed the higheſt idea, and not by his miſtreſs, of whoſe judgment he never entertained any favourable opinion. The miniſter had always treated the princeſs of Wales with the higheſt reſpect, and declined paying court to Mrs. Howard; a mode of conduct, which, according to the opinion of ſuperficial obſervers, would inevitably bring on his diſgrace, but which, in effect, contributed to his continuance in office. A contrary mode of proceeding had inſpired the queen with an invincible averſion to Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and

* Onſlow's Remarks, Correſpondence, Period IV.

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and the Tories. Hence she used all her influence with the king not to change the administration. Chapter 32. 1727.

The account of the king's death was brought first to the minister at Chelsea, in a dispatch from lord Townshend, who had accompanied George the First to the continent. He instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond. The king was then retired, as was his usual custom, to his afternoon's nap. On being informed that his father was dead, he continued for some time incredulous, until he was told that the minister was waiting in the anti-chamber with the express. He at length started up, and made his appearance half dressed; but he still retained his unbelief, until the dispatch from Townshend was produced. Walpole having knelt down, and kissed his hand, inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the declaration to the privy council? "Compton," replied the king with great abruptness, and Walpole quitted the apartment under the most mortifying impressions. He immediately waited on Sir Spencer Compton with the king's commands, who, unacquainted with the etiquette and forms of expression used on the occasion, avowed his ignorance, and requested the minister to draw up the declaration. Walpole complied, and Compton conveyed it to the king *. Walpole's first interview with George the Second.

Sir Spencer Compton was second surviving son of James earl of Northampton; after having received a liberal education, and improved himself by foreign travel, he was introduced into parliament Character of Sir Spencer Compton.

* From lord Orford.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. 1695.

ment at an early period, and deſerted the principles of his family, who were Tories, by adhering to the Whigs. He was made treaſurer to the prince of Denmark, appointed manager for the trial of Sacheverel, was chairman in ſeveral important committees of elections and privileges, in which he acquitted himſelf with much ſatisfaction, and made himſelf maſter of the forms and proceedings of the Houſe. At the acceſſion of George the Firſt, he was appointed treaſurer to the prince of Wales; and his conſtant adherence to the Whigs, his intimate acquaintance with Walpole, his numerous connections, and a character he had acquired for diſpatch of buſineſs, ſecured him the place of ſpeaker without oppoſition. With that honourable office he united, in 1721, the poſt of paymaſter of the forces, and treaſurer of Chelſea Hoſpital. He was created knight of the bath on the revival of that order. Compton was not diſtinguiſhed for brilliancy of genius, or eminence of abilities. His formal and ſolemn manner contributed to the ſupport of his authority as ſpeaker, and ſeemed to denote extent of knowledge and profundity of thought, while his aſſiduity in buſineſs, and punctuality in accounts, rendered him reſpectable in the opinion of George the Second, who being extremely regular in all his proceedings, loved regularity in others, and eſteemed it one of the moſt eſſential requiſites in a miniſter. Such was the perſon whom George the Second had ſelected; and as the monarch was uſually deemed

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inflexible in his reſolutions, the appointment ſeemed irrevocably fixed. Chapter 32. 1727.

Walpole paſſed the two days which immediately followed the acceſſion of the new king, in great agitation and concern, and held ſeveral conferences with his friends at Devonſhire Houſe. Scrope *, ſecretary to the treaſury, who was admitted to one of theſe meetings, deſcribed the whole company, abſorbed in gloom and conſternation. Either the next, or the following day, Scrope repeated his viſit to the deſponding miniſter, and found no alteration in his mien and appearance. He firſt encouraged him in general terms to hope, and then added reaſons for that encouragement, which he had from one, whoſe name he could not divulge. His friend had informed him, that queen Caroline was diſpleaſed with Compton, who had been deficient in deference and reſpect, and had conceived a high opinion of Walpole's ability for finance. She uſed to converſe with George the Firſt at chapel, on political ſubjects; and once in particular, having obſerved that a want of proper funds would oblige him to diſband his Hanover troops, he replied, "No, for Walpole can convert ſtones into gold †." This anecdote recurred to her recollection; ſhe communicated it to the king, and exerted herſelf to abate his predilection for Compton, and influence him in favour of Walpole. The truth of the information

* Minutes of Scrope's Converſations with Etough. Correſpondence, Period IV.

† See chapter 30.

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formation ſoon appeared; the queen was aſſiduouſly employed in removing the prejudices of the king. She repreſented the folly and hazard of diſmiſſing a well eſtabliſhed miniſtry, and of forming a motley cabinet of Whigs and Tories; and artfully took an opportunity of hinting the imprudence of placing a man at the head of the miniſtry, who could not draw up the declaration to be laid before the privy council, but was compelled to have recourſe to him who was about to be diſmiſſed; ſhe alſo hinted to him, that Sir Robert Walpole had agreed to carry through the houſe of commons, an augmentation of £. 130,000 to the civil liſt.

Theſe repreſentations had their effect; and with them, many other cauſes co-operated to change the king's ſentiments. Sir Spencer Compton found himſelf unequal to the weight of government, and was not eager to take upon him ſo reſponſible an office. He was convinced, that he could not bear up againſt the oppoſition of Sir Robert Walpole, who had ſo much weight in the houſe of commons, and who would be ſupported by the united intereſts of Newcaſtle, Devonſhire, Townſhend, and the great leaders of the Whigs, unleſs a Tory adminiſtration was formed. George the Second was averſe to throw himſelf into the hands of the Tories, and yet could not form a new miniſtry, which promiſed ſtability, without taking that ſtep. Pulteney, the only man of great weight and influence among the Whigs in oppoſition, was by no means attached to the Tories, and would not have

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have heartily coaleſced with them. Bolingbroke was ſo extremely unpopular, that his re-eſtabliſhment in the houſe of lords, and his admiſſion into the miniſtry, would have occaſioned great murmurs and diſcontents among thoſe who uſually ſupported government. Lord Carteret, the only man of abilities who was cordially inclined to join the Tories, had little perſonal conſequence, was not the leader of any party, and did not poſſeſs the ſmalleſt influence in the houſe of commons.

The ſituation of foreign affairs alſo no leſs contributed to confirm the king in his reſolution not to remove the miniſtry. The treaty of Hanover had been recently concluded, and the negotiations for the conſummation of that alliance were in great forwardneſs. They had been planned and were conducting by lord Townſhend, in co-operation with France. The oppoſition had warmly reſiſted the treaty, and might have introduced a new plan, which muſt have deranged and overturned the whole ſyſtem of foreign politics. Cardinal Fleury, who then governed France, was intimately connected with Horace Walpole; he had adopted the pacific ſentiments which influenced the Engliſh cabinet, and deprecated the change of that ſyſtem which had kept Europe in peace for ſo long a period. When the news of the king's death reached Paris, Horace Walpole requeſted and obtained an immediate conference, which took place at Verſailles on the enſuing day. In this conference, the French miniſter conveyed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, profeſſions of friendſhip from Louis the Fifteenth

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

to George the Second; and in his own name declared his firm reſolution to maintain the good underſtanding between the two crowns. He alſo expreſſed theſe ſentiments in a letter which he wrote on the ſame day to Horace Walpole. Immediately after the conference *, Horace Walpole quitted Paris, without waiting for leave of abſence, repaired to London, and delivered his letter to the king in perſon. The king was at firſt extremely diſſatisfied with him for quitting his ſtation ſo abruptly; but during the conference, which laſted two hours †, he gradually ſoftened, as Horace Walpole explained, with great addreſs, the relative ſituations of England and France, effaced the ill impreſſions that he had entertained of his and his brother's conduct, and confirmed the ſentiments of the French cabinet, which were contained in the letter from cardinal Fleury. Accordingly, the king wrote, with his own hand, a letter ‡ to the cardinal, in which he declared his reſolution to purſue the ſame meaſures as were purſued by his father, and to continue the ſame miniſters who had conducted thoſe meaſures.

Under theſe circumſtances, the offer which had been made to Compton, was the only remaining impediment to the continuance of Walpole. The manner of ſurmounting this difficulty was previouſly

* Memoires de Montgon, tome 4. p. 401, 403.

† Etough. From Horace Walpole, Period V.

‡ Duke of Newcaſtle to Mr. Robinſon and the earl of Waldegrave. Correſpondence. Montgon mentions the conference between Fleury and Horace Walpole, and aſſerts that cardinal Fleury wrote a letter to the king of England; but this letter was to Horace Walpole. Memoires de Montgon.

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ouſly concerted. The queen having, in the preſence of Walpole, repeated to Compton the intimation that the king intended to place him at the head of the treaſury; Walpole inſtantly declared his ready acquieſcence, and gave aſſurances of his beſt aſſiſtance and ſupport. Compton was extremely affected at this inſtance of his maſter's kindneſs, and ſhed tears, as he declared his incapacity to undertake ſo arduous a truſt *. Chapter 32. 1727.

While this ſcene was paſſing in the cloſet, the door of Sir Spencer Compton's houſe in St. James's Square was beſieged by perſons of all ranks, who crowded to pay their court to the new miniſter. As Walpole was paſſing through the ſquare in his carriage, he ſaid to a friend who was with him, "Did you obſerve how my houſe is deſerted, and how that door is crowded with carriages? To-morrow the ſcene will be changed: that houſe will be deſerted, and mine will be more frequented than ever."

As his continuance in office was the work of the queen, it was through her that it was firſt made known to the public. On the firſt drawing-room which ſhe held at Leiceſter Houſe, lady Walpole, among others, preſented herſelf; but as there was a great crowd, and her huſband was ſuppoſed to have received his diſmiſſion, no one retired, till the queen perceiving her at ſome diſtance, beckoned to her, and ſaid, "There I am ſure I ſee a friend;" inſtantly the whole company made way. She

* Communicated by Sir Robert Walpole to biſhop Weſton. Etough Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. She approached the queen, and kiſſed her hand; her majeſty ſpoke to her in a moſt gracious manner, and lady Walpole, in relating the anecdote to her ſon *, from whom I received it, added, "and in returning I might have walked upon their heads, ſo eager were they to pay their court to me."

From this moment Walpole was courted, Compton in his turn deſerted, and the miniſtry, with very few alterations, continued in their former offices. On the 24th of June, the very day in which Swift ſaid the miniſtry would be changed, Walpole was re-appointed firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer, and lord Townſhend again received the ſeal of ſecretary of ſtate. An attempt † was finally made by the party, through Mrs. Howard, to prevail on the king to confer an earldom on lord Bathurſt; but that meaſure being thwarted by the influence of the queen, they relinquiſhed all hopes of ſucceſs, and Bolingbroke retired from London in diſguſt.

Queen Caroline poſſeſſed great art in bending the king's mind to the purpoſes which his Engliſh miniſter thought advantageous and neceſſary, and in counteracting the Hanoverian cabals. She always affected to retire when the miniſter came into the cloſet, declared ſhe did not underſtand buſineſs, and only remained as if to obey the king's commands, and not out of inclination or curioſity. She never appeared to liſten; never gave her opinion unleſs ſolicited, and then delivered it with a modeſty

* From Lord Orford. † Ibid.

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modeſty and humility which captivated and charmed the king. She was extremely fond of power, though ſhe affected the contrary, and preſerved her influence over the king by conſummate diſcretion. She was a friend to peace, and appreciated and enforced the pacific ſyſtem of Sir Robert Walpole, as the only means of preſerving the interior tranquillity, and preventing a rebellion; as the great cauſe of the national proſperity, of the increaſe of commerce, and of the improvement of manufactures and agriculture. Chapter 32. 1727.

The interpoſition of queen Caroline, and the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to the miniſtry, in regulating the conduct of affairs, was of the higheſt advantage both to them and the country. She was not unacquainted with the conſtitution of England; and ſhe often prepared and ſmoothed the way towards obtaining the king's conſent to meaſures which he had firſt oppoſed, becauſe they often ran counter to his German prejudices, or to his paſſion for military glory.

From the time of his acceſſion, to the hour of her death, the king always appointed her, during his abſence, regent of the kingdom, and an act of parliament was paſſed for the expreſs purpoſe of exempting her from taking the oaths. He uniformly expreſſed as much ſatisfaction, when the affairs of government were conducted by her, as when they were conducted by himſelf; an honourable teſtimony of his confidence, which ſhe amply merited by her conſummate good ſenſe and diſcretion. The reliance which George the Second

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placed on the queen, is evidently proved by some expreſſions in a letter from Da Cunha, the Portugueſe miniſter at the Hague, to Azevedo in London: "As to your journey to Hanover, I have already given my opinion; it is certain neither the king will do any thing without the queen, nor the queen without the king: and therefore, in point of diſpatch of buſineſs, London is Hanover, and Hanover is London *."

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-THIRD:

1727—1729.

Walpole obtains an Increaſe of the Civil Liſt, and a Jointure of £. 100,000 for Queen Caroline.—Meeting and Proceedings of the New Parliament.—State of the Oppoſition.—Important Diſcuſſion on the State of the Sinking Fund and National Debt.—Report of the Houſe of Commons on that Subject.—The King refuſes to make Charles Stanhope a Lord of the Admiralty.—Foreign Affairs.—Tranſactions with Spain and the Emperor.—Alliance with Brunſwick.—Act of the Pardo.—Congreſs of Soiſſons.—Treaty of Seville.

New miniſtry confirmed.

IN conſequence of the re-appointment of Townſhend and Walpole, not a ſingle member of the cabinet council was removed, excepting the earl of Berkley, firſt lord of the admiralty, who was replaced by Sir George Byng, viſcount Torrington, the confidential friend of Walpole; and the power of the miniſter was increaſed by the nomination of ſeveral of his friends to ſubordinate offices in the treaſury, admiralty, and other boards of government.

* July 3d 1736. Orford Papers.

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ment. The wiſdom of continuing the adminiſtration, was proved by the unanimity with which affairs were at firſt conducted in parliament; and the acceſſion of George the Second, which the Jacobites abroad and at home had impatiently expected as the ſignal of a new revolution, took place with the moſt perfect tranquillity. They founded their principal hopes on the removal of the miniſter. The ſecretary of lord Orrery, had obſerved to the exiled biſhop of Rocheſter, that if the project to deſtroy Sir Robert Walpole was ſucceſsful, he had more hopes of ſeeing the Chevalier reſtored, to the ſatisfaction of himſelf and ſubjects, than from any Alberoni or foreign aſſiſtance in the world. Atterbury himſelf alſo acknowledged that the king knew his intereſt too well to encourage any attempts againſt the miniſter *. The general deſpondency which they now teſtified, was equal to the ardour of their former expectations, and ſufficiently proves that he was conſidered as the great ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the bulwark of the religion and conſtitution. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

The oppoſition ſeems to have been ſtunned with the re-appointment of the miniſter, whoſe diſgrace they had fondly anticipated, and the buſineſs was carried through the houſe of commons almoſt with perfect unanimity. The day after the arrival of the expreſs, with official intelligence of the death of Diſappointment and inactivity of oppoſition.

* Secret Intelligence from Paris, September 24th, 1727.—Walpole Papers.

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of George the Firſt, the parliament aſſembled in conformity to the act of ſettlement, and was prorogued by commiſſion to the 27th. On that day, the king came to the houſe of peers, and in his ſpeech from the throne, after expreſſing his concern for the death of his father, his determination to preſerve the conſtitution inviolable, and to ſecure to all his ſubjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; he gave his full ſanction to the late meaſures. The addreſs of condolance and congratulation, moved by Sir Paul Methuen, and ſeconded by Walpole, was carried without oppoſition. It was drawn up in ſuch terms as ſufficiently proved that he thought himſelf ſecure of all the influence and power which he had hitherto poſſeſſed *. On the 3d of July, he propoſed that the entire revenue of the civil liſt, which produced about £. 130,000 more than the £. 700,000 granted to the late king, might be ſettled on his majeſty during life. Although this motion was conſidered as the price of his continuance in office, yet no one ventured to oppoſe it, except Shippen, who after a long ſpeech, moved, that no more than £. 700,000 ſhould be ſettled; but as he was not ſeconded, the original motion paſſed without a diviſion †.

June 15th. Proceedings in parliament.

On

* Journals.—Tindal, vol. 20. p. 4.—Hiſtorical Regiſter, 172.—Chandler.

† It is a curious obſervation of Smollett (vol. 2. p. 131.) which muſt tend to ſhew with how much partiality and inaccuracy he compiled his hiſtory. That "to theſe particulars (namely, in the ſpeech of Shippen) which were indeed *unanſwerable*, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aſide, as idle and *ſuperfluous*." The fact was, that no reply was made, not becauſe the arguments were unanſwerable, but becauſe no one ſeconded the motion; a circumſtance of

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On the 9th, in consequence of a message requesting the house to settle a jointure on the queen, if she should survive the king; it was unanimously agreed that £.100,000 should be granted for that purpose. On the 17th, the king made a speech from the throne, in which, after thanking the parliament for this mark of attachment and affection, he gave another and a stronger sanction to the conduct of the ministers, and adverted to the flourishing state of the country. The parliament was then prorogued to the 29th of August, and soon afterwards dissolved. Thus was this short session of parliament conducted with an unanimity and zeal unexampled in the annals of this country.

As the same men were continued in office, of course the same measures were pursued both at home and abroad. At home, to continue the public tranquillity, to counteract the schemes of the Jacobites, to promote commerce, to encourage agriculture and manufactures were the great efforts of administration, and in these Walpole took an active and leading part. The new house of commons, which assembled on the 23d of January 1728, was of the same temper and disposition as the last; and the members in favour of administration were soon found to exceed the complement in the former parliament. Sir Spencer Compton,

Meeting of the new parliament.

of which Smollett takes no notice. Belsham also observes (vol. 1. p. 172.) with no less inaccuracy, "The amendment was rejected *with a great majority*," which would lead the reader to suppose, that there was a division. But in fact, there was no amendment duly moved and seconded, and the original motion, of course, passed unanimously.

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ton, who had occupied the chair, having been created a peer, Arthur Onſlow was elected ſpeaker, with an unanimity which could only be inſpired by an opinion of his integrity and abilities, an opinion which his ſubſequent conduct fully juſtified, by an able and impartial diſcharge of his duty, during a period of thirty-ſeven years *. The

King's ſpeech.

ſpeech from the throne was remarkable for an appearance of frankneſs and ſincerity. The king firſt alluded to the uncertain ſituation of affairs abroad, to the difficulties which had attended the execution of the preliminaries with Spain, and to the unavoidable neceſſity of not diſcontinuing warlike preparations; and then, after the ordinary profeſſions of frugality, and willingneſs to reduce the national expences, exhorted the commons to take into conſideration the encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled to enter into the ſervice of their country, a conſideration, he obſerved, worthy of the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and navigation. To this purpoſe, he propoſed an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital, and concluded with recommending unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch.

Addreſs.

This ſpeech was heard with general ſatisfaction. The addreſs paſſed the lords without oppoſition; being preſented to the commons for their approbation, Shippen propoſed, with a view to caſt a reflection on the miniſters, after the words *diſagreeable*

* Tindal.

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greeable and uncertain ſtate of affairs, to add, *at his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne*. He then took occaſion to launch out into the moſt bitter invectives, and particularly taxed the ſquadron as uſeleſs and inſignificant, for not having rifled the galleons at Carthagena, and plundered Porto Bello. Sir William Wyndham ſeconded the motion with his uſual energy, and obſerved, that the languid meaſures adopted by government, tended only to remove the negotiations from Paris and Madrid to Cambray; and would not aſſiſt in removing the difficulties into which this dilatory mode of proceeding had plunged the nation. But theſe declamatory objections did not accord with the temper of the houſe; they rather excited ſo much indignation among the independent members, that the oppoſition did not venture to call for a diviſion, and the addreſs was carried unanimouſly. In fact, this conduct of oppoſition, not only diſpleaſed the nation, but even hurt their cauſe in the only court, where it was likely to have any effect. For the great objection which cardinal Fleury had raiſed againſt the counſels of England, was derived from their precipitancy and violence; and Bolingbroke had laboured to impreſs this notion on his partiſans. The miniſters availed themſelves of this circumſtance, and in conformity to their inſtructions, earl Waldegrave, who in the abſence of Horace Walpole conducted the affairs of England at Paris, repreſented with due effect to the cardinal, that the ſame meaſures to which he objected, as

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too prompt and decisive, were reprobated in England, as deficient in spirit and energy *.

Debate on the Hessian troops. February 14.

The first question which met with much opposition, was that made by Horace Walpole, that £.230,923 should be granted for maintaining 12,000 Hessians in the British pay. In the debate on this motion, the minority seem to have first recovered from their surprise; the Pulteneys and Sir William Wyndham spoke with great weight and art on a question which has been so often discussed, and which still continues to agitate the public mind, concerning the expediency of taking foreign troops into British pay. The argument in favour of the question was, in substance, that the late king had thought fit to provide these troops, in order to obtain the ends of the treaty of Hanover; that they were ready at hand, and much cheaper than raising national troops; that a disappointment, from the defection of the king of Prussia, one of the contracting parties in the alliance, was a special reason for retaining them; that time had manifested this to have been a prudential measure, it having prevented a war in Germany; that the reasons for taking them into pay still subsisted, and therefore their continuance was necessary till the intended congress at Cambray was finished. 84 divided against 280 †.

The opposition.

It was at this period, in which Walpole, confiding on the support of queen Caroline, took the lead

* George Tilson to the earl of Waldegrave, February 2d and 5th, 1727-8. Waldegrave Papers. † Journals. Chandler.

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lead in the adminiſtration, and became in reality the firſt miniſter, although lord Townſhend ſtill oſtenſibly retained the name; that the oppoſition began to form itſelf into conſiſtency, and to compoſe a firm and compact phalanx, which reſiſted all the efforts and influence of the miniſter to divide them, and which finally drove him from the helm. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

Until the death of George the Firſt, the component parts of this heterogeneous body, which conſiſted of a few diſappointed Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites, did not cordially coaleſce. Many of thoſe Whigs and moderate Tories, who looked up to that event as a prelude to their own admiſſion into the miniſtry, kept aloof from thoſe who, as being profeſſed Jacobites, or violent Tories, could not expect the ſame ſucceſs. But no ſooner had the continuance of Walpole in office annihilated their hopes, than the whole body became compact and united. In this reſpect, the Whigs became Tories, the Tories Whigs; and the Jacobites aſſumed every ſhape which tended to promote their views, by diſtreſſing government, and haraſſing the miniſter, whom they conſidered as the great ſupporter of the houſe of Brunſwick.

The chief aim of the miniſter was to comprehend almoſt all the Tories as enemies to the government, by the name of Jacobites, or at leaſt to give that ſtigma to every one who was not a profeſt and known Whig. With this view, his own adminiſtration being naturally ſupported on a Whig foundation, he endeavoured to attach to himſelf all

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all thoſe who had been dependent on Sunderland. With ſome he ſucceeded, but not with all; and of thoſe whom he could not gain, ſeveral remained in their employments, becauſe they were protected by the Hanover junto. This body of Whigs, ſmall but of conſiderable eminence, remained his enemies to the time of the king's death, watching for every opportunity to ruin him; and from the acceſſion of George the Second, commenced the oppoſition which became afterwards ſo troubleſome and formidable *. Pulteney was the great leader of this body; under him were ranged his kinſman Daniel Pulteney, Sir John Barnard, Sandys, and afterwards lord Polwarth, Pitt, Littleton, and the Grenvilles. Sir William Wyndham was the great chief of the Tories, and William Shippen was at the head of the Jacobites, who did not form leſs than fifty members. Thoſe who ſupported the miniſter were lord Hervey, whoſe character and talents have been ſcandalouſly depreciated by Pope, Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, whom Johnſon calls the beſt ſpeaker in the houſe of commons, Winnington, and his brother Horace Walpole, whoſe talents for negotiation, indefatigable aſſiduity in buſineſs, and acquaintance with foreign tranſactions, rendered him an able co-adjutor.

Debates on the ſinking fund and the national debt.

During this ſeſſion, a very important queſtion, on the ſtate of the national debt, was brought before the houſe, in which the miniſter of finance was deeply engaged. In the debates which took place on

* For the characters of the leading members of oppoſition, ſee Onſlow's Remarks, Correſpondence, Period IV.

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on this ſubject, the oppoſition had declaimed againſt the profuſe expenditure of the public money. They declared, that although large ſupplies were annually voted during the laſt reign, and the produce of the ſinking fund had been applied to the diſcharge of the debt, during a period of almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity, yet the public burthens were *increaſed* inſtead of being diminiſhed; and they obſerved, that if the war with Spain ſhould continue, and new troubles ariſe in Europe, freſh taxes muſt be perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity, and the nation muſt inevitably ſink under ſuch an accumulated load. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

In proof of theſe arguments, Pulteney had publiſhed a well written pamphlet, "On the State of the National Debt." Many ſimilar ſtatements had appeared in the Craftſman, attempting to ſhew, that the ſinking fund had been of no ſervice to the purpoſe for which it was originally intended. Walpole knew that this poſition was defended by the moſt able pens, and oſtentatiouſly ſupported by laborious calculations, which the people could not comprehend. As theſe aſſertions raiſed great clamours at home, and had a conſiderable effect abroad, in decrying the credit of the nation, it became neceſſary to confute, or at leaſt to contradict them, in the ſame poſitive manner in which they were advanced. With this view, the miniſter determined, through the medium of the houſe of commons, to make a ſolemn appeal to the nation againſt their ſtatements; and his reſolution was unwittingly forwarded by oppoſition, who did not know

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. know that in repeating their attacks, they ſupplied him with the very weapons of defence, which he could not ſo eaſily have acquired without their concurrence.

February 22. In laying before the commons an account of the ſinking fund, Walpole declared, that ſince 1716, it had diſcharged above ſix millions of the debt, but that as new debts had been contracted, the national burthens had upon the balance been diminiſhed about two millions and a half. Pulteney in reply aſſerted, that notwithſtanding the great merit which ſome perſons had arrogated to themſelves from the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, it appeared that the debt had *increaſed*, inſtead of being diminiſhed, ſince the commencement of that pompous project. To this Sir Nathaniel Gould, an eminent merchant, obſerved, that he apprehended the gentleman had taken this notion from a treatiſe, intituled, "The State of the National Debt;" that if he underſtood any thing, it was numbers, and that he would ſtake his credit, to ſhew the fallacy of the author's calculations and inferences. Pulteney defended his calculations, and added, that he was not at preſent prepared to prove his aſſertions, but that he would do ſo in a few days, and would alſo ſtake his reputation on their truth. The miniſter ſupported the opinion of Sir Nathaniel Gould, and added, that he would alſo ſtake his reputation on the truth of what he advanced *. Walpole now exerted himſelf in preparing

* George Tilſon to the earl of Waldegrave, February 22d, 1727-8, Correſpondence.—Chandler.

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paring ſpecific ſtatements of the produce of the ſinking fund, of the debts which had been liquidated, and of thoſe which had been contracted ſince its eſtabliſhment, with a view of ſubmitting them to parliament on the firſt opportunity, which was ſoon ſupplied by the leading member of oppoſition. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

On the 29th of February, the king's anſwer was given to an addreſs, requeſting a ſpecific account of £.250,000 which had been charged for ſecret ſervices; he truſted the houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him as they had repoſed in his royal father; and declared, that a ſpecific account of the diſburſements could not be given, without manifeſt prejudice to the public. This meſſage had no ſooner been delivered by Sir Paul Methuen, comptroller of the houſehold, than Pulteney roſe: with great animation he inveighed againſt ſuch a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliament inſignificant and uſeleſs, to cover embezzlements, and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters. He again urged the increaſe of the national debt, and inſiſted on having that important affair debated in a grand committee. The miniſter oppoſed the immediate diſcuſſion of the queſtion, but moved to adjourn the debate only to the 4th of March, when after the examination of the revenue officers, he ſhould be ready to lay before the houſe, the ſtate of the national debt. This motion was carried by 202 againſt 66 *.

Accord-

* Journals.

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Accordingly, on the 4th of March, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, conſidered the ſtate of the national debt, and examined at the bar the proper officers of the revenue. At the concluſion of this examination, with a view to avoid all general cavils, and to reduce the aſſertions of the adverſaries to a ſpecific account, a motion was made by the friends of the miniſter, "That the monies already applied towards diſcharging the national debts incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, together with £.220,435, which will be iſſued at Lady Day 1728, amount to £.6,648,762."

In reply to this propoſition, the minority argued, that for the purpoſe of ſwelling the amount of the ſums ſaid to be iſſued for the liquidation of the debt, the miniſter had put down no leſs than three millions, which had been advanced in 1720, to make the irredeemables redeemables; and which could not properly be called a payment of debts. They alſo inſiſted, that he had omitted ſeveral large ſums, particularly one million raiſed upon the credit of the civil liſt, and deficiences of the land tax, malt, and other funds. They concluded, that theſe defalcations from the ſums paid, and additions to the ſtanding debts, would reduce the £.6,648,762, which, according to the boaſts of the miniſter, was ſuppoſed to be liquidated, to leſs than one third.

Walpole, on the other hand, maintained with no leſs poſitiveneſs the accuracy of his own ſtatements, expatiated on the ſtate of the nation, and

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of the public debts, explained the operation and efficacy of the ſinking fund, and ſupported the motion. The oppoſition then propoſed that the ſpeaker ſhould reſume the chair, but this being negatived by 250 againſt 97, the original queſtion was put, and carried without a diviſion. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

The miniſter having obtained this victory, reſolved to bring forwards his public appeal to the nation, by preſenting a report from the houſe of commons to the king, ſtating, in certain reſolutions, the amount of the national debt, and the ſums which had been liquidated by means of the ſinking fund. With this view, four reſolutions were ſubmitted to a committee of the whole houſe, on the 8th of March; the firſt of which repeated, in the ſame words, the motion made on the 4th, that £.6,648,762 had been diſcharged. March 4th.

The oppoſition, recollecting their former defeat by a large majority, and ſeeing that the houſe wholly differed from their repreſentations, did not lay their wonted ſtreſs on the main queſtion, but loudly called again upon the miniſter for an account of the ſum lately employed in ſecret ſervice. To theſe clamours Walpole made the uſual reply, that it had been expended in negotiations too delicate to be ſpecified. In the midſt of his ſpeech, an account was tranſmitted by lord Townſhend, that the convention with Spain was ſigned at the Pardo *. Walpole availed himſelf of this information; and acquainting the houſe with the news, added, "That the nation would be now relieved

* See the concluſion of this chapter.

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relieved from the burthen of the late expences, and that he could assure the members who called so loudly for a specification of the secret service money, that it had been expended in obtaining the conclusion of that peace, the preliminaries of which were now signed. The designs of those (he said) who had laboured to disturb the tranquillity of Europe, were thus defeated; and the purchase of peace, and the prevention of war, on terms so cheap, were highly beneficial to the public." This information spread general satisfaction through the house; the question was instantaneously called for, and the resolutions passed without a division*. On a subsequent meeting, these resolutions were formed into a report, which was drawn up by the minister, and laid before the house, to be presented to the king.

April 8th. Report on the state of the sinking fund and national debt.

This is a very elaborate performance †, and deserves the strictest attention. After laying down the subject of the report, which was to examine how much of the additional debt incurred before the 25th of December 1716 had been discharged, and what new debts had been contracted since that time; it proceeds with making severe reflections against the arts which had been practised to mislead the people in this important inquiry, "by publishing and promoting, with the greatest industry, most notorious misrepresentations of the true

* Lettre de Monsieur Le Coq, au Roi de Pologne, de Londres, 23 Mars, 1728. Also, a letter from a foreign minister, dated $\frac{13}{24}$ March, 1728. De la Faye to earl Waldegrave, March $\frac{11}{22}$, 1728. Correspondence, Period III.

† Tindal, vol. 20. p. 24.

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true ſtate of our debts, and of the proviſions made for the diſcharge of them; and by infuſing groundleſs jealouſies and inſinuations, as if the produce of the ſinking fund had been but little and inconſiderable, or that by wrong and imprudent meaſures, bad œconomy, neglect, or miſmanagement, unneceſſary expences had been made, and new debts contracted, that not only equalled, but exceeded by ſeveral millions, the amount of the old debts that had been diſcharged *." It then adopts a method that is plain, eaſy, and intelligible to the meaneſt capacity, by giving, in two tables, the amounts of the debts diſcharged and incurred ſince the 25th of December 1716, juſt before the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund: Chapter 3. 1727 to 1729.

Debts incurred ſince December 25th 1716, and ſince diſcharged - - -	6,626,404	16	9½
Debts contracted and incurred ſince December 25th 1716, and now ſubſiſting - - - - - -	3,927,988	7	1½
Difference, or decreaſe of the national debt - -	2,698,416	9	7½

It then gives the new debts under the proper heads of the ſervices for which they were contracted; and after having related the beginning, eſtabliſhment, and beneficial effects of the ſinking fund, obſerves, that by reducing the intereſt of the

* Journals.

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the greateſt part of the debts from 6 to 4 per cent. there is a ſaving of one third of the intereſt, which is equal to a diſcharge of one third of the principal; and that as the annual produce of the fund was gradually raiſed from £.400,000 to £.1,200,000 the addition of £.800,000, if valued at twenty-five years purchaſe, the current price of annuities, would give a real profit to the public of £.20,000,000.

It concludes by ſaying, "This is the happy ſtate of the ſinking fund, taken ſeparately, and by itſelf; but, if we caſt our eyes upon the ſtate of our public credit in general, it muſt be an additional ſatisfaction to us, that by preſerving the public faith inviolable, by the diſcharge of the old exchequer bills, and the reduction of the high intereſt on all our ſtanding debts, the whole credit that is taken on the annual funds, for carrying on the current ſervice of the year, is and may be ſupplied for the future at £.3 per cent. or leſs, for intereſt, premium, and charges, by exchequer bills, juſt as the occaſions of the public require, without any loans, or being obliged to any perſons, for money to be advanced or lent on the credit of them; and ſo far is the public from being under the former neceſſities of allowing extravagant intereſt, premiums, or diſcounts, for any money they want, that the only conteſt now among the creditors of the public is, that every one of them deſires to be the laſt in courſe of payment."

"Permit us then, moſt gracious ſovereign, to congratulate your majeſty on the comfortable proſpect

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ipect we have now before us, if, notwithſtanding the many difficulties this nation has laboured under ſince the happy acceſſion of your majeſty's late royal father to the throne, notwithſtanding the unnatural rebellion which ſoon after broke out, and the many heinous plots and conſpiracies which have ſince been formed and carried on for overturning the religion and liberties of our country, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your moſt illuſtrious family; the many diſturbances which have ariſen, and the uncertain and embroiled condition of the affairs of Europe, not a little fomented and encouraged by the falſe intelligence, and malicious inſinuations which have been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad by your majeſty's and our enemies, of the uneaſy and perplexed ſtate of our affairs at home, as if that had rendered it almoſt impoſſible for this nation, effectually to exert themſelves in defence of their own juſt rights and poſſeſſions, and for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the public peace and tranquillity; if, notwithſtanding theſe and many other difficulties which we laboured under, and while the ſinking fund was yet in its infancy, and ſo much leſs than it now is, we have been able to diminiſh the national debts ſo much already, what may we not hope for in regard to a more ſpeedy and ſenſible diſcharge of them for the future, now the ſinking fund is ſo greatly increaſed, and our public credit in ſo flouriſhing a condition *."

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Such was the ſubſtance of this remarkable report,

April 8th.

* Journals.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730 April 11th.

port, which was carried by 243 againſt 77 *. It was preſented to the king, and drew a favourable anſwer, expreſſing his extreme ſatisfaction for the removal of groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions, for the happy effects to be derived from the flouriſhing ſtate of public credit, for the proviſion made for the gradual diſcharge of the national debt, and concluded by obſerving, "You may be aſſured, it ſhall be my particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, and to improve the ſinking fund, and to avoid all occaſions of laying any new burthens upon the people †."

The effects of the report, both at home and abroad, were incalculably beneficial to the credit of the miniſter. Whatever were the opinions of individuals, whatever might be the cavils of thoſe who oppoſed government, the ſtatement of the miniſter was approved by more than *two thirds of the national repreſentatives, aſſembled in parliament, and was ſolemnly ſanctioned by the king.* At home the diſcontents viſibly ſubſided; abroad the national credit was eſtabliſhed on ſtronger grounds than ever. It was proved, in oppoſition to the clamours of the diſaffected, that the kingdom could ſupport the expences of a war. France courted our alliance with redoubled ardour; Spain was confirmed in her wiſhes for peace; the Emperor and Ruſſia ſhrunk from a conteſt with Great Britain; and the diſpatches from Paris, Seville, and Vienna, ſufficiently announced the weight and influence which the counſels of England had gained by

* Journals. † Ibid.

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by the opinion, which now generally prevailed in favour of her finances. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

In this ſeſſion occurred one of thoſe difficult and critical caſes, in which Walpole was reduced to the neceſſity of complying with the will of the ſovereign, contrary to his own judgment, or of reſigning. Great complaints had been made of the deficiency of the civil liſt, and upon an examination of the revenue officers, a motion was made by Scrope, ſecretary to the treaſury, that the ſum of £.115,000 be granted to his majeſty, not as a deficiency, but as an arrear. It appeared that there was no deficiency, yet the houſe rejected a motion for a ſecret committee, and paſſed the act, by a majority of 241 againſt 115. In the lords, the bill met with ſtrenuous oppoſition, and though carried, very ſtrong proteſts were entered on the Journals, and ſigned by fourteen peers. This tranſaction gave great pain to Walpole: he is ſaid to have uſed every effort of addreſs and reaſoning to diſſuade the proſecution of the demand, ſo much as even to offend the king. The enemies of his adminiſtration were not ignorant of his reſiſtance, and ſome of the leading Tories made ſecret propoſals to the king, that if he would diſcard Walpole, they would not only obtain the ſum required, but add to it £.100,000. Thus circumſtanced, the miniſter reluctantly complied, and ſubjected his character to much obloquy *. April 23d.

This inflexibility of George the Second expoſed Walpole The king's diſguſt againſt Charles Stanhope.

* Journals. Chandler. Tindal. Etough's Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. Walpole not only to many difficulties in his public career, but to many unmerited reproaches in his character, as a man of veracity. Great embarraſſment to a miniſter muſt be derived from the occaſional reluctance of the ſovereign to confirm the promiſes made to individuals of particular offices, either of honour or truſt; and on ſuch occaſions, he naturally incurs the blame of either indifference, negligence, or duplicity. Thus he had not been able to obtain for his friend the duke of Devonſhire the preſidentſhip of the council, which high office was, by the interpoſition of Sunderland, conferred on lord Carleton, who, ſince his elevation to the peerage, had ſeldom voted with the Whigs.

But perhaps no failure affected him more, or cauſed more reproaches, than the refuſal of the ſovereign to make Charles Stanhope, elder brother of the earl of Harrington, a lord of the admiralty. The real cauſe of the king's non-compliance, aroſe from his averſion to Charles Stanhope, which was diſcloſed to the miniſter, under the ſtricteſt injunctions of ſecrecy. George the Second had found, among his father's papers and letters, a memorial from lord Sunderland, written in the hand of Charles Stanhope, highly expreſſive of ſtrong diſlike to the prince of Wales, and recommending the adoption of the moſt violent meaſures againſt him. The peruſal of this paper excited the higheſt indignation as well againſt the memory of lord Sunderland, as againſt the ſecretary who had written it. In regard to Charles Stanhope, the king declared, that no conſideration

ſhould

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ſhould induce him to aſſign to him any place of truſt or honour; and he kept his word. For when Sir Robert Walpole eſpouſed his intereſt with much ardour, he offended the king, who rejected the application, with ſome expreſſions of reſentment againſt the miniſter for having recommended him *.

Foreign affairs.

When George the Firſt left England, things wore the appearance of a general pacification. In virtue of the preliminaries ſigned by the Imperial and Spaniſh embaſſadors, a courier from Spain was hourly expected to announce, that the ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed, and the prizes reſtored. But the death of the king put a momentary ſuſpenſion to theſe hopes.

Wavering conduct of Spain.

Philip received the preliminaries on the 10th of June, and before he iſſued orders in conformity with his promiſes, the news of that event arrived. The acceſſion of the new ſovereign had been announced by the Jacobites abroad, as likely to meet with numerous obſtacles, and at all events, it was ſuppoſed that the helm of government would not be directed by ſo ſteady a hand, when Townſhend and Walpole were removed. Under theſe impreſſions, Philip, inſpired with the hopes of breaking the ſtrict alliance between France and England, and of again engaging the Emperor in his ſupport, while he affected to agree to the terms accepted by his embaſſador, delayed, under various pretences;

* Lord Townſhend to Stephen Poyntz, June 3d, 1728. Correſpondence, Period IV.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

tences, to raiſe the ſiege of Gibraltar, and to reſtore the Prince Frederic, a ſhip belonging to the South Sea company, which had been ſeized under the pretence of carrying on a contraband trade.

The Emperor juſtified this conduct, by declaring, that the king of Spain was not obliged by the preliminaries to take thoſe ſteps; and by his preparations, gave unequivocal ſigns of intentions hoſtile to England. The only method therefore of bringing Philip to reaſon, was to attack his ally in Germany, and to purſue ſuch vigorous meaſures as might deter the court of Vienna from ſupporting Spain by invading the electorate and the United Provinces, the only parts in which the allies of Hanover were vulnerable, and which the Engliſh would be bound in honour to defend. This meaſure was ſtill more neceſſary, becauſe the conventions made by the Emperor with the electors and princes of the empire, and the ſubſidies which he was to pay with Spaniſh money, in virtue of thoſe conventions, were not expired. The allies were, by the management of the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in the ſame ſtate of uncertainty as to peace or war, as they were before the preliminaries were ſigned.

Treaty with Brunſwick.

Among all theſe conventions made by the Emperor, none had a more fatal tendency than that with Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel. The Emperor had already drawn the electors of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Bavaria, and the Elector Palatine, into his intereſt. His near conſanguinity to the prince of Saxony, ſeemed to ſecure to him, at leaſt, the neutrality

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neutrality of that proteſtant electorate; and he had found means to draw off the king of Pruſſia, by the promiſe of guarantying to him the ſucceſſion of Berg and Ravenſtein. In caſe of a rupture, he had ſecured Mentz as a place of arms, which gave him the command of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

The Elector of Mentz had already permitted him to put a garriſon into Erfurt, which, by its ſituation, made him in effect maſter of Upper Saxony: but ſtill Lower Saxony, in which circle the dominions of Hanover are ſituated, remained inacceſſible, till he found means to make a treaty with the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, by which he was to grant that prince a ſubſidy of 200,000 florins a year. In a ſecret article of that treaty, it was farther ſtipulated, that the conjuncture of affairs requiring it, cloſer engagements ſhould be entered into between them, as well for augmenting the duke's ſubſidies and troops, as in relation to the town of Brunſwick. In conſequence of this convention, another ſubſidiary treaty was opened between the court of Ruſſia and the duke, under the influence and direction of the Emperor. Had he been permitted to garriſon Brunſwick, not only a fatal diſunion would have been produced between the branches of the king's family, but the ſituation of that place would have enabled the Emperor to pour into the electorate his own troops, as well as the 30,000 men which by the treaty with Ruſſia, were to have been introduced into the empire, under pretence of recovering

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. vering Sleſwick for the duke of Holſtein; the greater part of Weſtphalia would have been laid under contribution, even to the frontiers of Holland; and the kings of Denmark and Sweden would have been kept in awe, by being forced to provide for the ſafety of their own poſſeſſions on the ſide of Germany.

In this dangerous ſituation of affairs, when the king's German dominions, and through them the United Provinces, were threatened by the combined arms of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, and when the poſſeſſion of Brunſwick, as a place of arms for the allies of Vienna, would have enabled the Emperor to penetrate into Lower Saxony, and bring on a general war, a treaty was negotiated and concluded with the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, which put an inſtant check to the views of the Emperor, and to the hopes of Spain. [redacted]s treaty, negotiated between lord Townſhend and count Dehn, the confidential miniſter of the duke of Brunſwick, was ſigned at Wolfenbuttel, on the 23d of November 1727. It ſtipulated a renewal of the family compact, according to the treaty of the 6th of May 1661, by which Brunſwick was to be kept for the common ſafety of the houſe of Lunenburgh, and not delivered up to any other power; a mutual guaranty of dominions; mutual aſſiſtance in caſe of attack; a ſubſidy of £. 25,000 a year, during four years, to the duke of Brunſwick, who was to furniſh at leaſt 5,000 men. This treaty, if conſidered in its general effects and tendency to the pacification

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pacification of Germany, was a maſter-piece of policy: it united the two branches of the houſe of Lunenburgh, who had been long at variance; and by preventing the progreſs of the Imperial arms, ſaved the electorate of Hanover from hoſtile inroads. Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

Theſe prudent and vigorous meaſures had the effect for which they were deſigned. The Emperor was reduced to a ſtate of inaction; and Spain, unable to maintain an unequal conteſt with the allies of Hanover, ſubmitted with reluctance, and ratified the preliminaries of peace at the Pardo, a royal palace near Madrid, in conformity to a declaration ſettled between Horace Walpole and cardinal Fleury, and made by count Rothembourg, the French miniſter in Spain. In conſequence of this act, the congreſs of Soiſſons was held, where the plenipotentiaries of all the powers concerned in the late troubles were aſſembled; and although nothing material was tranſacted, yet the negotiations were managed, on the part of the Hanover allies, in ſuch a manner as to create a diviſion between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The project of a proviſional treaty, negotiated between the Imperial, Britiſh, and French plenipotentiaries, had ſo alarmed the king of Spain, and created ſo much uneaſineſs in the queen, that they required from the Emperor a poſitive declaration on the ſubject of marrying the two archducheſſes to the two Infants of Spain, and his refuſal to explain himſelf, excited their reſentment to ſuch a degree, as to give England Act of the Pardo.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. and France an opportunity of detaching them from the Emperor.

Treaty of Seville. The breach being now made, a reconciliation ſpeedily took place between the allies of Hanover and Spain. Philip ſacrificed the Emperor, as the Emperor, by declining to co-operate in the ſiege of Gibraltar, had ſacrificed him, ſigned the preliminaries at Pardo, and concluded, at Seville, 1729. the 29th of November, with Great Britain and France, a treaty of peace, union, and mutual defence. This treaty, beſides the reſtoration of peace, and the renewal of all former treaties between Great Britain and Spain, ſtipulated the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniards, inſtead of neutral troops, as ſpecified by the quadruple alliance, into Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, for ſecuring to Don Carlos the eventual ſucceſſion to thoſe duchies, in caſe the reigning ſovereigns ſhould die without iſſue male; and if the Emperor would not acquieſce, forcible means were to be uſed for effectuating the introduction.

In return for this ſingle article granted to Spain, Great Britain obtained immediate redreſs of ſome grievances, the promiſe of redreſs in others, new guaranties of all her poſſeſſions, and of all her rights of trade, and a tacit excluſion of any claim to Gibraltar, upon which to be ſilent, after the clamorous demands made by Spain, was the ſame as a public renunciation *.

Although

* The contents of the part of this chapter which relates to foreign affairs, have been principally drawn from the various diſpatches of Horace Walpole and William Stanhope, in the Walpole and Stanhope

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Chapter 33. 1727 to 1729.

Walpole promotes the peace.

Although Walpole ſuffered the negotiations to be oſtenſibly managed by Townſhend, and ſeemed to take no part in the various tranſactions, yet he watched with a jealous eye the progreſs of the buſineſs. In the ſecret correſpondence which he conſtantly held with his brother Horace, whoſe opinion had a great influence over Townſhend, he directed all his advice and views to the final eſtabliſhment of peace. He was on the one hand equally ſtudious not to offend the Emperor beyond hopes of recovery, who he well knew, in caſe of a reconciliation between France and Spain, could alone in future prevent the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Bourbon, and on the other ſide, was equally anxious to facilitate an accommodation with Spain, for the ſake of reſtoring the Britiſh commerce, which had received a deep blow from the rupture with that country. The treaty of Seville, was indeed principally owing to his interference or directions; and Townſhend's repugnance to this plan of pacification, was overruled by the prudence and diſcretion of his colleague,

hope papers, and from the ſtate of the negotiation, from June 1728 to June 1730, drawn up by Mr. Robinſon, the miniſter at Vienna, in the Grantham papers.

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CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FOURTH:

1727—1729.

Debates in Parliament on a ſuppoſed Promiſe of George the Firſt to reſtore Gibraltar to Spain.—Miſtakes generally entertained on that Subject.—True State of Facts.—Conduct of the Regent.—Of the King and Queen of Spain, and its Conſequences.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

Parliamentary proceedings reſpecting Gibraltar.

IN the midſt of theſe tranſactions, an outcry was raiſed againſt adminiſtration, for having degraded the king, and diſgraced the nation, by breaking a promiſe made to Philip the Fifth, for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, which, it was urged, had induced that monarch to accede to the quadruple alliance; and therefore the war was unjuſt on the part of England, becauſe he only claimed his right in virtue of that promiſe, and offered to commence a negotiation for peace, when it was fulfilled. To theſe aſſertions Walpole replied, that the promiſe having been given when he was not in adminiſtration, he was in no reſpect anſwerable for it; but that if it had ever been made, he durſt aver, that it was conditional, and rendered void by the refuſal of Spain to comply with the terms on which it was founded, and that whenever the performance of that agreement was mentioned to him, he always maintained that Gibraltar ſhould not be granted without the

February 6, 1727. conſent of parliament *. When Sandys moved, "for

* Chandler.

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" for addreſſing the king to communicate to this houſe, copies of the declaration, letter, or engagement, on which the king of Spain founded his peremptory demand for the reſtitution of that fortreſs," he was ſeconded, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Sir William Wyndham, Hungerford, and Pulteney, who took notice of a letter written in 1721, to one of the Emperor's plenipotentiaries at Cambray, wherein a promiſe of ceding Gibraltar was expreſsly mentioned; they were oppoſed by Henry Pelham, Brodrick, Horace Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole, who ſaid, that the communication of the declaration or letter was altogether impracticable and unprecedented; the private letters of princes being almoſt as ſacred as their very perſons *. Chapter 34. 1727 to 1729.

But although this remark at that time impoſed a reſpectful ſilence on the houſe of commons, yet the queſtion was again revived in the upper houſe, and the letter being produced, ſome of the lords in oppoſition moved the reſolution, " That effectual care be taken, in the treaty then in agitation, that the king of Spain do renounce all claims and pretenſions to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and ſtrong terms." But the motion being overruled, another was carried, " That the houſe relies upon the king for preſerving the undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca." This reſolution being ſent down to the commons, lord Malpas propoſed and carried an addreſs for a copy of the letter to the king of Spain; which being March $\frac{18}{29}$ 1727. March 21. February 1.

* Chandler, vol. 6. p. 384.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

being laid before the houſe, a warm debate enſued. Many ſevere reflections were levelled at thoſe who adviſed the king to write ſuch a letter, as implied, or at leaſt was conſidered by the Spaniards as ſignifying a poſitive promiſe of giving up Gibraltar, and was therefore the principal occaſion of the king of Spain's reſentment, and of the difficulties in promoting a pacification. To theſe inſinuations, Walpole replied as on the former occaſion, and added, that the letter did not contain any poſitive promiſe; and that effectual care had been taken in the preſent negotiation to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar. But the party in oppoſition declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with this explanation and anſwer, moved an addition to the reſolution of the lords, that all pretenſions on the part of Spain to Gibraltar and Minorca, ſhould be ſpecifically given up; but the queſtion being negatived by a large majority of 156 voices, the reſolution of the lords was carried without a diviſion. Thus ended this buſineſs in parliament, which had created ſo much ill-will, occaſioned ſo many falſe reports at the time, and which has ſince been miſrepreſented by thoſe who inculpate the miniſter for breaking a promiſe which he never made, and for violating the national honour, when, in fact, he defended and ſupported it.

Errors of hiſtorians.

Although the buſineſs was thus concluded in parliament, yet the aſſertions of the miniſter did not ſatisfy oppoſition, and as the affair was again renewed in the Craftſman, and other periodical publications,

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publications, with increaſed rancour and exaggerated invective, to which Walpole never condeſcended to make any reply, theſe invectives have been adopted by ſubſequent hiſtorians with no leſs aſperity, and have been conſidered as authentic facts. Nor is this miſrepreſentation confined to the authors of this country: Many of the French writers are totally miſtaken in the account of this negotiation, in aſſerting, that George the Firſt promiſed unconditionally to reſtore Gibraltar. Chapter 34. 1727 to 1729.

Thus, particularly, Anquetil preſumes, that in the peace which Spain concluded with France and England in 1720, there was a ſecret article by which the *king of England promiſed to reſtore Gibraltar to Spain*; and he grounds this preſumption, not unfairly, on the two following paſſages from the Memoirs of Villars. March 10, 1727: The pope's nuncio at Madrid, wrote to the nuncio in France, that the king of Spain offered to agree to the ſuſpenſion of the trade from Oſtend, and at the ſame time demanded Gibraltar, *inſiſting that the reſtitution of it had been promiſed by the king of England.* November 2, 1727: Count Rothembourg, the French embaſſador at Madrid, relates, that the queen of Spain complained of the Engliſh, and ſpeaking of Gibraltar, took out an original letter from the king's cabinet, *in which George the Firſt promiſed the reſtitution of Gibraltar* *. As therefore the accounts given of this tranſaction

* Vol. 2. p. 411. See alſo Belſham's Hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 251.

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transaction are in general erroneous, and as the inquiry itself is not uninteresting, I shall state a narrative of the negotiations relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, drawn from authentic documents.

Correct statement of the fact.

In 1715, George the First, for the purpose of avoiding a rupture with Spain, gave full powers to the regent, duke of Orleans, to offer the restoration of Gibraltar; the hostilities which followed, annulled the promise, and afterwards the king of Spain acceded purely and simply to the quadruple alliance, without stipulating the cession. The regent, however, with a view to ingratiate himself with the king of Spain, and to promote the double marriage between the two infants and his two daughters, repeatedly renewed the offer in the name of George the First, and inspired Philip with the most sanguine hopes of recovering so important a fortress. These expectations being urged by Philip with great warmth, and with little discretion, obliged the king to declare that he did not consider himself as bound by his former conditional promise. The regent being reproached by the queen of Spain with a breach of his word, dispatched the count de Saneterre to England, to represent the danger and delicacy of his situation. He declared, that he considered the king's promise as full and positive, and that he would as soon consent to his utter ruin, as to the dishonour of failing in so public an engagement. These strong expressions from the regent, who had proved himself so faithful an ally, and whose assistance in discovering

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covering and counteracting the ſchemes of the Jacobites was ſo neceſſary, perplexed the king, and induced him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to gratify him and the king of Spain, with this view, earl Stanhope founded the diſpoſition of the upper houſe, by inſinuating an intention to obtain a bill, empowering the king to diſpoſe of Gibraltar, for the advantage of the nation. But this hint produced a violent ferment. The public were rouſed with indignation on the ſimple ſuſpicion, that at the cloſe of a ſucceſsful war, unjuſtly begun by Spain, ſo important a fortreſs ſhould be ceded. General murmurs were at the ſame time excited by a report induſtriouſly circulated by oppoſition, that the king had entered into a poſitive engagement for that purpoſe; virulent pamphlets were publiſhed to alarm the people, and to perſuade them rather to continue the war, than to give up Gibraltar. The miniſters were compelled to yield to the torrent, and to adopt the prudent reſolution of waving the motion, leſt it ſhould produce a contrary effect, by a bill, which might for ever tie * up the king's hands. The interference of France in this affair, and the extreme eagerneſs to obtain the reſtitution, was of great detriment. The alarm was indeed ſo ſtrong, that ſuſpicions were entertained that the regent was meditating the deſertion of the alliance with England, and made Gibraltar a pretext to juſtify a change of ſyſtem. Theſe

Chapter 34. 1727 to 1729.

* Earl Stanhope to Sir Luke Schaub, Paris, March 28, 1729. Hardwicke Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

These apprehensions induced the king to send earl Stanhope to Paris, with a view of representing the true situation of affairs, and to state the unpopularity of the measure, and the impracticability of carrying it against the general sense of the people.

March 9, 1720.

The letter which Stanhope conveyed from the king to the regent on this occasion, was firm, discreet, and satisfactory. He acknowledged that he had made the offer of ceding Gibraltar, solely with a view of preventing the rupture, and that Spain might have obtained it, had she then acceded to the proposed conditions. But it was now too late to revive the demand, as the king of Spain had proved himself the aggressor. It never could be understood that a voluntary offer of this nature, to prevent a war, was binding as a preliminary of peace. He concluded by observing, that he had never given his consent, since the rupture, to the renewal of the offer, and had received no communication from the regent of any intention to bring it forward *. The duke of Orleans was fully satisfied with this representation. He owned, that although he could not avoid continuing to press for the restitution which he had so solemnly promised in the king's name, yet that he would employ every indirect means in his power, to prevent its being indiscreetly and improperly urged, and testified his resolution to make a separate peace with Spain.

Equivalent proposed.

The king, however, being still inclined to gratify the regent, if he could do it without disobliging

* The king to the duke of Orleans. Walpole Papers.

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ing his ſubjects, referred the object of diſpute to the congreſs at Cambray, hoping that in the courſe of negotiations, the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries might urge ſuch motives and arguments in its favour, as would influence the parliament and people *. Under the ſame impreſſions, he made another effort. By his order, earl Stanhope wrote to ſecretary Craggs, to lay before the lords juſtices the advantages which would reſult from ceding Gibraltar for Florida, or the eaſtern part of St. Domingo, and for certain commercial advantages. This propoſal being laid before the council, lord Townſhend at firſt warmly oppoſed, but finally agreed, if a ſuitable equivalent, particularly Florida, could be obtained. Accordingly, the ceſſion ſeemed ultimately determined, if it met with the approbation of parliament. But the obſtinacy of the king of Spain, rendered this propoſal ineffectual. He declined yielding Florida in exchange, and inſiſted on Gibraltar without giving any equivalent †. This claim on his part was ſo warmly and repeatedly inſiſted on, as the indiſpenſable requiſite for acceding to the terms of pacification, that it was deemed a prudent act of policy not to retard the concluſion of peace, by a poſitive denial. Philip having requeſted, as an oſtenſible vindication of the peace, which was reprobated in Spain as highly

Chapter 34. 1727 to 1729.

October 1, 1720.

Rejected by the king of Spain.

* Sir Luke Schaub to Grimaldo, Madrid, June 17, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

† Secretary Craggs to earl Stanhope, Auguſt 2 and 26, 1720. Stanhope Papers. Earl Stanhope to ſecretary Craggs, Hanover, October 1, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

highly dishonourable, a letter conveying a promise of restoring Gibraltar, George the First complied, and expressed himself with great discretion on this delicate subject. "I no longer balance (he observed) to assure your majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand, touching the restitution of Gibraltar, *upon the footing of an equivalent*, promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this article, with consent of my parliament." When the British minister delivered this letter, both the king and queen of Spain made so many objections, particularly to the word equivalent, that at his suggestion the king consented to write another letter, in which those words were omitted, under the full conviction that the letter, even in that mutilated state, left the affair entirely to the parliament, who might refuse to part with Gibraltar upon any terms; or if they agreed to the cession, might equally insist upon an equivalent *.

The king's letter.

April 29, 1721.

June 1, 1721.

This was the memorable letter †, which was the cause of so much obloquy. Philip considered it as a positive promise, and his minister insisted upon a pure and simple restitution, without any equivalent. The king of England, on the contrary, asserted that the cession must solely depend on the consent of parliament, which would not be

Haughty and unreasonable conduct of the king of Spain.

* Dispatch from William Stanhope to lord Carteret, Aranjuez, May 29, 1721. Hardwicke Papers.

† This letter is printed in the Journals of the lords and commons, in the Political State of Europe, Historical Register, Chandler, and Tindal, with an omission of the words marked in Italics.

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be eaſily obtained. In the midſt of theſe claims on one ſide, and counter declarations on the other, which agitated the plenipotentiaries during two years, the diſſolution of the marriage between Louis the Fifteenth and the Infanta, occaſioned the rupture between France and Spain. Philip broke up the congreſs at Cambray without having agreed to the preliminaries, and the queſtion of Gibraltar remained undecided. After ineffectually endeavouring to detach England from France, and whilſt he was ſecretly preparing for a reconciliation with the houſe of Auſtria, he renewed his claims, and accompanied them with bitter reproaches.

In the midſt of theſe altercations, Ripperda, having publicly declared at Vienna that England would be compelled to reſtore Gibraltar, colonel Stanhope was commanded to obtain an immediate acknowledgment from Madrid, whether this declaration of Ripperda was made by order, or ſimply on his own authority *. The king of Spain, and his firſt miniſter Grimaldo, both replied, that Ripperda had ſurpaſſed his orders, in ſaying that a rupture with England would enſue, unleſs Gibraltar was reſtored; and Stanhope was deſired to acquaint his court with this declaration. Stanhope prepared his diſpatch, and the courier was on the point of taking his departure, when he received a letter from Grimaldo, informing him that the continuation of the friendſhip and com-

* Letter from colonel Stanhope to lord Townſhend, July 14, 1725.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

commerce between England and Spain, would depend on the ſpeedy compliance with this demand. On inquiry, he found that the cauſe of this ſudden change in opinion, proceeded from the news juſt brought of the ratification of the treaty of Vienna. In fact, both the king and queen of Spain were ſo little acquainted with the conſtitution and temper of the Engliſh nation, that they inſiſted on an *immediate* reſtitution of Gibraltar as the only means of avoiding a rupture. Againſt this extraordinary demand, Stanhope remonſtrated in an audience with the king and queen of Spain; he declared, that they inſiſted upon an impoſſibility, ſince what they required could not be effected without conſent of parliament; whereas there was then no parliament aſſembled, nor could poſſibly be aſſembled, before the king's return to England in the ſpring. "No!" ſaid the queen, "Let then the king your maſter return preſently into England, and call a parliament expreſsly for this purpoſe, it being no more than what we might expect from his friendſhip for us; and I am aſſuredly and poſitively informed, that the matter once fairly propoſed, would not meet with one negative in either houſe; let this ſhort argument be once made uſe of: either give up Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies and Spain; and the matter, I will anſwer for it, won't admit of a moment's debate *."

The

* Letter from W. Stanhope to lord Townſhend, Auguſt 6, 1725. Stanhope and Harrington Papers.

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The conſequence of this inſolent and peremptory demand being a refuſal on the part of England, Philip commenced the ſiege of Gibraltar, and alledged as an excuſe for the aggreſſion, the breach of promiſe on the ſide of George the Firſt. When the deſertion of the Emperor compelled him to accept the preliminaries of peace, he clogged the negotiation by renewing his claims on Gibraltar, and furniſhed the oppoſition in England with matter of reproach to the miniſter, who juſtified himſelf in parliament. The object of Philip was to bring the diſpute before the congreſs of Soiſſons; that of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries was to prevent it. The prudent manner in which they ſucceeded in that deſign, does honour to their diplomatic abilities; and the treaty of Seville was, as I have already obſerved, concluded without any ſtipulation or mention of Gibraltar.

Its conſequences.

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CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIFTH.

1728.

Riſe, Diſgrace, Impriſonment, Eſcape, and Arrival of Ripperda in England.—Reception and Conferences with the Miniſters.—Diſſatisfaction and Departure.—Enters into the Service of the Emperor of Morocco.

Ripperda in England.

THE arrival of the duke of Ripperda in England, his clandeſtine reception, and temporary concealment under the protection of Townſhend and Walpole, form a remarkable event in this year. The papers committed to my inſpection, contain ſeveral curious particulars of this extraordinary man, who negotiated the treaty of Vienna, and who afterwards betrayed the ſecret articles to the court of London.

Memoirs of Ripperda.

William, baron and duke of Ripperda, was deſcended from a noble family in the lordſhip of Groningen, one of the United Provinces; he received a learned education, and acquired an intimate knowledge of the French, Spaniſh, and Latin languages. He ſerved as colonel during the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. In the midſt of his military occupations, he applied himſelf with indefatigable induſtry to the ſtudy of trade and manufactures; and being no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his inſinuating addreſs, was deputed, ſoon after the peace of Utrecht, envoy to Madrid, for the purpoſe of ſettling the commercial diſputes

Envoy to Madrid. 1715.

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between Spain and the Dutch republic. While he was labouring to adjuſt that difficult buſineſs, he contributed to promote the concluſion of a commercial treaty between Spain and England, for which ſervice Townſhend commends his good offices in terms of high approbation *. Chapter 35. 1728.

During his reſidence at Madrid, his ardent imagination, conſummate addreſs, and extreme facility in writing diſpatches and drawing memorials in various languages, recommended him to cardinal Alberoni, who employed him in affairs of a moſt ſecret and delicate nature. The ſervices which he performed, and the grateful acknowledgments of the miniſter, inſpired him with the moſt ſanguine expectation of obtaining a ſplendid ſituation in a country where, ſince the acceſſion of a foreign king, aliens had been frequently promoted to the higheſt offices of government; and as Alberoni alledged as an excuſe that he could not be promoted on account of his religion, he made a public abjuration, and was admitted into the Roman Catholic church. He was then appointed ſuperintendant of a cloth manufactory, recently eſtabliſhed, by his own ſuggeſtion, at Guadalaxara, and received the grant of a penſion and an eſtate. During this period of his life, he was penſioned by the Emperor, and ſeems to have received occaſional preſents from the Engliſh court. He was ſo unprincipled, that he had even the aſſurance to call upon the envoy Bubb, afterwards Dodington, for 14,000 piſtoles, in the name

Noticed by Alberoni.

Changes his religion, and ſettles in Spain.

* Townſhend Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. name of cardinal Alberoni, which he appropriated to his own uſe *, and this tranſaction probably contributed to his removal. Having brought the manufactory to a high degree of improvement, and enjoying frequent opportunities of converſing with the king and queen, he excited the jealouſy of Alberoni, and was removed from the ſuperintendance. Ripperda, however, diſſembled his reſentment, while he ſtill continued in public on terms of amity with the prime miniſter, ſecretly repreſented to Daubenton and Grimaldo, who were diſguſted with Alberoni, many errors and inſtances of mal-adminiſtration, which the confeſſor laid before the king, and perſuaded him to conſult Grimaldo, through the channel of the poſtmaſter-general.

In the courſe of the difficult and complicated tranſactions in which Spain was involved with the Emperor, France, and England, the opinion of Ripperda was alſo demanded. He accordingly drew up a report, in which he declared, that the king could never ſucceed in his deſigns againſt the Emperor, unleſs he could obſtruct the operations of England. With this view, he recommended that the troops deſtined to invade Sicily, ſhould be landed, with great ſtores of arms and ammunition, on the coaſts of Scotland or Ireland, to aſſiſt in replacing the Pretender on the throne. If that event ſhould take place, the prince would in gratitude reſtore Gibraltar, Minorca, Jamaica, and all the American ſettlements

* Stanhope's Diſpatches. Harrington Papers.

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ments wreſted from Spain by the Engliſh, and the Italian provinces would be eaſily recovered. This advice, though rejected by the influence of Alberoni, who perſevered in the reduction of Sicily, made a deep impreſſion on the king's mind, and gave him a favourable opinion of Ripperda's genius and ſpirit, which was increaſed, when the repeated predictions of Ripperda, that the raſh and ill-concerted meaſures of Alberoni would fail, were verified by the event. The diſgrace of the cardinal being the conſequence of his ill-ſucceſs, the ſuperintendancy of the manufactures at Guadalaxara was reſtored to Ripperda, and his influence over the king and queen was promoted by the ſtrong recommendations which the duchefs of Parma, at the ſuggeſtions of the Imperial court, made in his favour, to her daughter the queen of Spain, and by the orders given to marquis Scotti, the miniſter of Parma at Madrid, to ſerve as a channel of communication between him and the queen. Hence Ripperda obtained private audiences of the king and queen of Spain, in which he laid down plans for the improvement of trade, and the increaſe of the marine; flattered the queen with promoting the aggrandiſement of her family, and ſtill more ingratiated himſelf in her favour, by propoſing the marriage of Don Carlos with an archduchefs. Chapter 35. 1728.

Depending on her protection, he aimed at the miniſtry of ſtate, of the marine and the Indies; he had even diſpoſed the king to remove the miniſters, when Scotti betrayed the ſecret to Daubenton His ambitious views.

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benton and Grimaldo. Daubenton prevented the immediate appointment of Ripperda, by repreſenting the danger and impropriety of entruſting the adminiſtration to a new convert; and when the death of Daubenton, and the offer of a cardinal's hat to the new confeſſor, father Bermudas, ſeemed likely to facilitate his elevation, his expectations were annihilated by the abdication of Philip. During the ſhort reign of Louis, the queen maintained a private correſpondence with Ripperda, and followed his advice, in ſending large ſums of money and her jewels to Parma.

Miſſion to the Emperor.

Soon after Philip's reſumption of the crown, when the cabinet of Madrid formed a project of reconciliation with the Emperor, Ripperda was ſelected as the fitteſt perſon to carry that delicate negotiation into execution. He was accordingly deputed to Vienna, with ſecret inſtructions to make a peace with the Emperor, to conclude a marriage between Don Ferdinand and the ſecond archduchеſs, and to ſecure, on the death of the Emperor without iſſue male, the Italian provinces and the Netherlands to Spain, and the reverſion of Tuſcany and Parma to Don Carlos. Before his departure, he delivered in a project for preparing a fleet 100 ſhips, an army of 100,000 infantry, and 30,000 horſe. The expences he propoſed to diſcharge from the revenues of the Indies alone, by new modelling the trade to the ſettlements, and ſecuring the profits, which were almoſt totally abſorbed by the Engliſh and French nations, and the Spaniſh miniſters. He alſo undertook

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dertook to ſave an annual ſum of 10,000,000 crowns; and obtained from the king a promiſe, that on his return from Vienna, he ſhould be appointed prime miniſter to carry his project into execution. Chapter 35. 1728.

Ripperda performed the object of his miſſion with great addreſs. He departed from Spain in the latter end of October, and arrived at Vienna in November, where he reſided in the ſuburbs, under the fictitious name of the baron of Pfaffenberg. It does not appear that the Engliſh court had any notice of his arrival from St. Saphorin, their agent at Vienna, before the 18th of February; when he received intelligence from Petkum, miniſter of the duke of Holſtein, that a Dutchman, the deſcription of whoſe perſon anſwered to that of Ripperda, held long and ſecret conferences with count Zinzendorf by night. This man was ſoon diſcovered to be Ripperda; but all the information which St. Saphorin could procure concerning the object of his miſſion, amounted to no more than a conjecture, that a marriage between an archducheſs and an infant of Spain, was the ſubject of their conferences; but whether with the prince of Aſturias or Don Carlos, was a matter of which he was wholly ignorant. Concludes the treaty of Vienna.

Ripperda was anxious to finiſh his miſſion, that he might return to Spain, and obtain thoſe honours which awaited him; but with a view to render the queen of Spain more tractable, he changed his inſtructions, and propoſed that the eldeſt

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eldeſt archduchefs ſhould be given to her ſon, Don Carlos, and that Mademoiſelle de Beaujolois, who had been affianced to him, ſhould be transferred to the prince of Aſturias. The queen inſtantly approved and promoted a plan ſo congenial to her wiſhes, by which the imperial dignity, and the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, would devolve on her iſſue. Having thus ſecured the queen, he gained the court of Vienna, by affirming, that if he was placed at the helm of government in Spain, a ſaving would be made of 50,000,000 crowns, out of which five or ſix millions ſhould be annually remitted to Vienna. He accordingly received a verbal, if not a written promiſe, from count Zinzendorf, in the name of the Emperor, that the eldeſt archduchefs ſhould be affianced to Don Carlos.

While this buſineſs was in agitation, the diſſolution of the marriage between the infanta and Louis the Fifteenth, and the refuſal of England to accept the ſole meditation, excited the reſentment of the king and queen of Spain to ſuch a degree, that inſtant orders were tranſmitted to Vienna, for concluding a treaty on any terms. Ripperda found no difficulty from the Emperor.

Under theſe auſpices, Ripperda concluded the treaty of Vienna; the news of which, on reaching Madrid, inſpired the king and queen with the moſt extravagant joy, and the populace, delighted at their deliverance from French interference, ſhouted, "Long live the auguſt houſe of

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of Auſtria *." Count Konigſeck, deputed em- Chapter 35.
baſſador to Madrid, was received with the moſt 1728.
flattering marks of eſteem and conſideration, and ſoon acquired ſuch an aſcendancy, that he wholly governed the counſels of Spain.

The ſecrecy with which the whole negotiation was conducted, was ſo well maintained, that the contents of the treaty, which was ſigned on the 21ſt of May, were ſcarcely ſuſpected, until they were hinted at by the Emperor himſelf, who could not contain his joy on the occaſion, and then divulged by the Imperial miniſters, with a view to inſult and intimidate the cabinet of England. The veil of ſecrecy being now removed, Ripperda came forth in the public character of embaſſador from Spain. The ſplendour of his houſehold, the liberality of his donations, and the punctuality of his payments, attracted eſteem and ſecured popularity. He at the ſame time diſplayed the natural warmth and preſumption of his temper. He poured forth, in public companies, the moſt bitter invectives againſt England, and made repeated declarations, that a refuſal to give up Gibraltar, or to guaranty the engagements recently concerted between the two contracting powers, would be followed by an immediate attempt to aſſiſt the Pretender.

Ripperda quitted Vienna in the beginning of 1725.
November. He paſſed through Italy, and tak- Returns to Spain.
ing

* Count Staremberg to the Emperor, June 8, 1725. Harrington Papers.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

ing ſhip at Genoa, diſembarked at Barcelona. On landing there, he gave to the officers of the garriſon, who crowded to pay their reſpects, an ample account of the tranſactions at Vienna, declaring that the Emperor had 150,000 troops ready to march at an hour's * warning, and that as many more could be brought into the field in ſix months. He ſpoke contemptuouſly of France, threatened the Hanoverian allies, if they ſhould preſume to oppoſe the deſigns of the Emperor and Philip; declared that France ſhould be pillaged, that the king of Pruſſia would be cruſhed in one campaign, and that George the Firſt would be deprived of his German territories by the Emperor, and of his Britiſh dominions by the Pretender. At the concluſion of theſe rodomontades, he continued his journey without delay, and rode poſt to Madrid, where he arrived on the 11th of December, in the afternoon; after a ſhort interview with his wife, he repaired to the palace without changing his dreſs, and went to the antichamber. Applying to the lord in waiting for admiſſion, he was informed that Grimaldo, the ſecretary of ſtate, was with the king and queen of Spain, and that he could not be immediately admitted. He expreſſed, in terms of deriſion, his impatience and ſurpriſe that Grimaldo continued ſo long, and on his coming out took no notice of him, but deſired the lord in waiting to announce his arrival.

He

* W. Stanhope to lord Townſhend, December 27.

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He was inſtantly admitted, and received with the higheſt marks of kindneſs and ſatisfaction *. The conference was long; and on the following day he was nominated miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Grimaldo; all the other miniſters, councils, and foreign embaſſadors were ordered to tranſact buſineſs with him; and without the name of prime miniſter, he was inveſted with the ſame uncontrouled authority as had been enjoyed by Alberoni. But he poſſeſſed more turbulence, ſelf-ſufficiency, and haughtineſs than the cardinal, without his addreſs, reſources, and incorruptible integrity, and the Britiſh embaſſador, who knew his character well, obſerved, that without the ſpirit of prophecy, "One might foreſee ten Alberonis in this Ripperda, as Scylla did ten Mariuſes in Julius Cæſar."

Appointed prime miniſter.

It ſoon appeared that Ripperda poſſeſſed neither addreſs or abilities ſufficient to carry his gigantic ſchemes into execution; and the king, irritated by the diſappointment of his ſanguine hopes, and angry at having been the dupe of this ſuperficial pretender, repeatedly told the queen, that Ripperda was a madman, and muſt be removed.

His diſgrace.

Swoln with vanity and preſumption, he ſeemed, however, to defy all oppoſition. "I know," he ſaid, "that the Spaniſh miniſters and nation are irritated againſt me, but I laugh at their attempts. The queen, to whom I have rendered the moſt eſſential ſervices, will protect me." And another time

* Memoires de Montgon, tome i. p. 207, 208.

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time he exclaimed at a public levee, that he was ſhielded by ſix friends who would defend him againſt all intrigues, God, the Bleſſed Virgin, the emperor and empreſs, the king and queen of Spain *. But although Ripperda owed his elevation to the union he had formed between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and appears, from this expreſſion, to have perfectly underſtood, that his continuance in power could only be ſecured by ſupporting that ſyſtem; yet ſuch was his caprice or vanity, that ſoon after his eſtabliſhment, he began to deviate from the line of conduct by which he had attained it. He relaxed in his attentions to count Konigſeck, the imperial embaſſador, and was ſuſpected of endeavouring to form an union with thoſe of Great Britain and Holland. This conduct rendered Konigſeck his enemy; the incapacity of the miniſter became daily more apparent, and his vain-glorious boaſting, produced nothing but the contempt and deriſion of the ſtateſmen of every nation.

Under theſe circumſtances, Don Joſeph and Louis de Patinho, ſecured the protection of the queen, by the private recommendation of her confeſſor, Don Domingo da Guerra, who repreſented them as perſons highly qualified to direct the helm of government, and well inclined to ſupport the plans of Ripperda as far as they related to the aggrandiſement of Don Carlos. They alſo gained the intereſt of count Konigſeck by offers of ſupplying

* Memoires de Montgon, tome i. p. 210.

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plying the imperial court with the promiſed ſubſidies. Both the queen and Konigſeck now ſuffered the king's reſentment againſt Ripperda to break out; they no longer counteracted the cabals of the Spaniſh miniſters, nor concealed the clamours of the nation againſt an upſtart, a convert, and a foreigner. Chapter 35. 1728.

Ripperda at length perceiving that he was deteſted by the people, thwarted by the Spaniſh miniſters, oppoſed by Konigſeck, deſpiſed by the king, and declining in the favour of the queen, paid great court to the Britiſh and Dutch embaſſadors, and made the moſt humble profeſſions of reſpect and duty to the king of England. In the midſt of theſe continued apprehenſions and alarms, he was diſmiſſed from the ſuperintendance of the finances, under the pretence of delivering him from part of the burthen of government. Foreſeeing that this would be ſpeedily followed by the loſs of all his employments, he requeſted the king's permiſſion to retire from his ſervice; but his demand was not complied with, and he continued to tranſact buſineſs till the 14th of May, when he received a letter from the marquis de la Paz, that the king accepted his reſignation, and conferred on him a penſion of 3,000 piſtoles. The general ſatisfaction which this event diffuſed, and the tumultuous acclamations of the populace, who aſſembled in large bodies before his houſe, filled him with apprehenſions of being maſſacred; and after writing a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, he took re-

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. fuge in the hotel of the Britiſh embaſſador, who was with the court at Aranjuez.

On his return to Madrid, the evening of the 15th, Stanhope had a difficult part to act. It was of the greateſt importance to obtain from Ripperda a communication of the ſecrets of the Spaniſh cabinet, and particularly an account of the negotiations which had recently taken place, and were then tranſacting between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and yet be careful not to offend the king of Spain, by appearing to countenance a diſcarded miniſter, in oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign in whoſe court he reſided. The caution and prudence with which he conducted himſelf on this delicate occaſion, reflects honour on his judgment, and contributed greatly to his future elevation. He contrived to give protection to the ex-miniſter, and to detain him in his houſe, until he had extorted from him all the ſecrets which he was willing or able to communicate.

Ripperda now betrayed to him the ſecret articles of the treaty of Vienna, and probably exaggerated the deſigns of the Emperor and the king of Spain, with a view to ingratiate himſelf with the king of England, and to exaſperate the nation againſt thoſe two monarchs who had occaſioned his diſgrace. He, who in the height of his power was ſo giddy and preſumptuous, was now become ſo abject, that his whole frame ſhook with agitation, he appeared to be in the greateſt agonies, and wept like a child.

For

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Chapter 35. 1728.

For the purpoſe of conveying the intelligence communicated by Ripperda, which was of too much importance to be ſent by the poſt, or even to be entruſted in a diſpatch by a common courier, Keene, then conſul general, afterwards embaſſador in Spain, was diſpatched to England. After communicating in perſon, the ſecret with which he was entruſted to the duke of Newcaſtle and the other miniſters of ſtate, he drew up, by order of the king, a letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, containing the ſubſtance of Ripperda's converſation, which is inſerted in the correſpondence *.

Impriſoned in the caſtle of Segovia.

After a negotiation of a few days, which paſſed between the Spaniſh court and the Britiſh embaſſador, Ripperda was taken by force from his houſe, and transferred to the caſtle of Segovia, from whence he made his eſcape, after a confinement of fifteen months.

His eſcape.

The governor of the caſtle and his wife, being both infirm, could not pay conſtant attention to their priſoners, and the ſervant maid †, being ſeduced by the duke, contrived his eſcape, and effected it with the aſſiſtance of a corporal, who was one of the guards; while his faithful valet, with unexampled attachment, remained in his apartment, and for ſome time prevented intruſion, by declaring

* See Period IV. Article Ripperda.

† Campbell, in his Memoirs of the duke of Ripperda, has converted the ſervant maid into the daughter of a Caſtilian nobleman, and the antiquated wife of the governor, into a ſprightly and beautiful young woman.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

declaring that his maſter was indiſpoſed *. The duke had juſt recovered from a ſevere fit of the gout, and not without the greateſt difficulty deſcended the ladder of ropes which was let down from the window of his apartment, and repaired to the place where a mule and a guide waited for him. Unable to continue riding he gave his mule to the guide, and hired a carriage, but proceeded ſo ſlowly that he employed five days in travelling to a ſmall village on the frontiers of Portugal, where he remained until he was joined by his two confidants. With them he arrived at Miranda de Duero, the firſt town in Portugal, and from thence continued to Oporto, where he embarked for England, on board the Charity, under the name of Don Manuel de Mendoſa †.

Arrives in England.

The veſſel was forced by contrary winds into Corke, and in the beginning of October, he landed at Comb-martin, in Devonſhire, with the young woman, the corporal, and a ſervant, and paſſed a few days at Exeter. Townſhend and Walpole, appriſed of his arrival and departure from Exeter, diſpatched Corbiere, under ſecretary of ſtate, to meet him on the weſtern road, who conveyed him in a coach and four to Eton, where he was lodged incognito, in an apartment belonging to Dr. Bland, dean of Durham, and head maſter of the ſchool. There he was met by Townſhend, who received him with the greateſt marks of attention,

* See letter from Keene to the duke of Newcaſtle, giving an account of Ripperda's eſcape.—Correſpondence, Article Ripperda.

† Memoires de Montgon. Political State of Great Britain.

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tention, with a view to obtain from him fuller and more accurate information concerning the ſecret articles of the treaty of Vienna. After a reſidence of a few days at Eton, he departed with the ſame ſecrecy to London, where he arrived on the 13th. After continuing for ſome time incognito, he took a large houſe in Soho ſquare, and a villa, and lived in a magnificent ſtyle. During his reſidence in England, he maintained an occaſional correſpondence with Walpole, and having made a rapid proficiency in the Engliſh language, conceived the chimerical hope of filling ſome high department in adminiſtration. While the differences with Spain were under diſcuſſion, and a poſſibility of a rupture with that country continued, the miniſters kept up an amicable intercourſe with Ripperda, which probably fed his deluſion, and inflamed his ambition. But when the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, contrary to his views and remonſtrances, rendered his information no longer uſeful, he felt the pain of diſappointed ſelf-importance, and in the year 1731, withdrew in diſguſt to Holland. Chapter 35. 1728.

Animated by a ſpirit of vengeance againſt Spain, which he could not ſatisfy among the powers of Europe, he embarked for Barbary, at the inſtigation of the embaſſador from Morocco, entered into the ſervice of the emperor Muley Abdallah, embraced the Mahometan religion, was created a baſhaw, obtained the command of the army and the office of prime miniſter; and gained the entire confidence of the emperor. After ſeveral ſucceſſes Adventures in Morocco.

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ceſſes over the Spaniards, and defeating a competitor for the throne of Morocco, in which he gave ſigns of great courage and ſkill, he was worſted near Ceuta, and preſerved his life, by reſigning his command. He deſerted Muley Abdallah, when dethroned by Muley Ali, and finally retired to Tetuan, where he lived under the protection of the baſhaw, and died in 1737, at a very advanced age *.

Death.

Cawthorn, in his poem on the Vanity of Human Enjoyments, has well delineated the capricious and motley character of Ripperda.

O pauſe, leſt virtue every guard reſign,
And the ſad fate of Ripperda be thine.
This glorious wretch indulged at once to move
A nation's wonder and a monarch's love;
Bleſt with each charm politer courts admire,
The grace to ſoften, and the ſoul to fire,
Forſook his native bogs with proud diſdain,
And, though a Dutchman, roſe the pride of Spain.
This hour the pageant waves the Imperial rod,
All Philip's empire trembling at his nod;
The next diſgrac'd, he flies to Britain's iſle,
And courts the ſunſhine of a Walpole's ſmile.
Unheard, deſpiſed, to ſouthern climes he ſteers,
And ſhines again at Sallé and Algiers;
Bids pale Morocco all his ſchemes adore,
And pours her thunder on th' Heſperian ſhore:
All nature's ties, all virtue's creeds belied,
Each church abandon'd, and each God denied;
Without a friend his ſepulchre to ſhield,
His carcaſe from the vultures of the field,
He dies, of all ambition's ſons the worſt,
By Afric hated, and by Europe curſt.

* This account of Ripperda is principally drawn from the diſpatches of St. Saphorin at Vienna, of William Stanhope at Madrid, and from "An Account of Ripperda," by two Sicilian abbots, in the Walpole Papers.

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CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SIXTH:

1730.

Sanguine Hopes of Oppoſition that Walpole would be removed.—Their Efforts in Parliament.—Debates on the Imperial Loan—on the Penſion Bill—on Dunkirk—and the Renewal of the Eaſt India Company's Charter.—Arrangement of the Miniſtry on the Reſignation of Lord Townſhend.—Characters of the Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Harrington.

Coalition of the Tories and diſcontented Whigs.

ALTHOUGH the Tories had hitherto joined the diſcontented Whigs in their attacks againſt the miniſter, yet their coalition had never been hearty and ſincere. They formed a ſeparate body; and as they did not amount to leſs than one hundred and ten members, they conſidered themſelves, both from their ſuperior numbers and weight as country gentlemen, entitled rather to give than receive an impulſe from the other parts of the minority. They did not therefore chuſe to pay that regular attendance in parliament, which a conſtant and uniform warfare required from all thoſe who, however differing in many points, were united in that of diſtreſſing the miniſter. But in the ſeſſion which opened in 1730, a regular and ſyſtematic plan was formed by Bolingbroke, and carried into execution by means of his addreſs and activity. His connection with Pulteney, as the joint manager of the Craftſman, gave him an influence over the Whigs; and his intimacy with Sir William Wyndham, ſecured to him the acquieſcence

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

quieſcence of the Tories. He had perſuaded the whole body, that notwithſtanding the ſignature of the convention at Pardo, a peace with Spain ſtill met with inſuperable difficulties. That Philip had not relinquiſhed his demand of Gibraltar; that the Spaniſh depradations would ſtill continue to be committed with impunity; that the Britiſh commerce with Spain would either be ſuſpended or annihilated. Meaſures were therefore concerted to call the miniſters to account for their ſupineneſs and puſillanimity. The clamours thus excited, extremely popular in a nation jealous of its honour, and anxious to ſecure its commercial advantages, occaſioned great diſcontents, as well amongſt the friends as the enemies of the miniſter.

Conduct of Bolingbroke.

Although the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, which was highly favourable to the commercial intereſts of England, and honourable to her national glory, diſconcerted oppoſition, and overſet the ſchemes of Bolingbroke in this particular, yet he was too able not to form another plan of attack. Having made a coalition between the diſcordant parties in the minority, and appointed a general muſter in parliament, he ſtill continued to animate the maſs with freſh ſpirit. His labours were now turned to ſow diſcord among the Hanoverian allies, to avail himſelf of a growing miſunderſtanding which had recently appeared between England and France, to encourage the emperor to perſiſt in his refuſal to admit Spaniſh garriſons into Parma and Tuſcany, and thus to counteract the execution of the treaty

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of Seville. Under his auſpices, and by his direction, the oppoſition brought forwards many queſtions calculated to harraſs government, and to render themſelves popular. The expectations formed by the diſaffected were highly ſanguine; and a notion prevailed both at home and abroad*, that the fall of the miniſter was unavoidable. Their hopes of ſucceſs were founded on the diſunion in the cabinet; on the ſuppoſed averſion of the king to Walpole, and on the diſguſt of thoſe Whigs who adhered to Townſhend.

Chapter 36. 1730.

Hopes of oppoſition.

The firſt trial of their ſtrength was made on the queſtion concerning the Imperial loan. The Emperor, by the treaty of Seville, having been deprived of liberal remittances from Spain, attempted to borrow £.400,000 in London. A bill was accordingly preſented to the commons for preventing loans to foreign powers, without licence from the king under his privy ſeal. Had the miniſtry permitted the loan, they would have been abundantly and deſervedly reproached: Advocates, however, againſt the prohibition were not wanting. The hardſhips of all reſtraints, the diſadvantage to us, and the advantage to the Dutch, were ſpecious pretences. Walpole took an active ſhare in combating the arguments of oppoſition, and the queſtion was carried †. A ſufficient juſtification of the meaſure was, that the want of money compelled the court of Vienna to ſubmit to terms of accommodation.

June. Debate on the Imperial loan.

The

* Secret intelligence from Paris. Walpole Papers.
† Journals.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

On the penſion bill.

The moſt popular and plauſible meaſure propoſed by oppoſition was, the penſion bill, which was now firſt introduced, and which from this period, became a never-failing topic of antiminiſterial attack, and of miniſterial defence. Sandys moved for leave to bring in a bill to diſable all perſons from ſitting in parliament, who had any penſion, or any offices held in truſt for them from the crown, directly or indirectly; and for the purpoſe of enforcing this excluſion, he propoſed that every member, on taking his ſeat, ſhould ſwear that he had not any penſion, directly or indirectly, did not enjoy any gratuity or reward, or hold any office or place of truſt; and that after having accepted the ſame, he would ſignify it to the houſe within fourteen days. Walpole, who knew the unpopularity of the arguments which could be urged againſt the bill, and appreciated the effect of thoſe which would be brought in its favour, declined taking any active part againſt it, notwithſtanding the expreſs injunctions of the king *, who called it a villanous bill, and the diſguſt of Townſhend, who was unwilling that the odium of its rejection ſhould be caſt upon the houſe of lords. He does not ſeem to have ſpoken in the debate, or to have exerted his uſual influence; for while moſt of the queſtions ſupported or oppoſed by government, were paſſed or thrown out by a majority of more than two to one, the bill was only carried by 144 againſt 134 †. It

February 16.

was

* Note from the king to lord Townſhend. Correſpondence.

† Journals. Tindal.

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was negatived by the houſe of lords after a long debate *, and a proteſt entered by twenty-ſix peers. A ſimilar fate attended it the next ſeſſion; and during his whole adminiſtration, Sir Robert Walpole never made any ſtrong oppoſition to it, but left it to be rejected by the upper houſe. It was now the generally received opinion, and not without foundation, that the miniſter ſuffered the penſion bill to paſs the houſe of commons, becauſe he knew that it would be thrown out by the peers. Sandys therefore, in the ſubſequent ſeſſion, brought forward a motion for appointing a committee, to inquire whether any members had, directly or indirectly, any penſions, or any offices from the crown held in truſt for them, in part, or in the whole. Walpole ventured to oppoſe it; he called it a motion for erecting the houſe into a court of inquiſition, and urged, that it juſtified the treatment which the bill had met with in the upper houſe. He declared that the act, if paſſed, could not anſwer the end for which it was propoſed, unleſs the houſe ſhould aſſume to itſelf a power unknown to the conſtitution, namely, a power of compelling every member that was ſuſpected, to accuſe himſelf, not of any thing criminal, for it could not be criminal to take either place or penſion from the crown, and in conſequence of that conſtruction, to diſpoſſeſs half the counties and boroughs in England of their repreſentatives. The arguments and influence of the miniſter prevailed, and

Chapter 3d. 1730.

March 3. 1730-1.

* Lords Debates. Tindal.

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and the bill was thrown out, by 206 againſt 143 *. Yet ſuch was the unpopularity of the rejection, that many members, ſuſpected of having penſions or places held in truſt, voted for it, leſt their oppoſition might diſoblige their conſtituents.

On the affair of Dunkirk.

The ſtipulation to deſtroy the harbour of Dunkirk, made at the peace of Utrecht, and renewed in the treaty with France of 1717, had never been fully complied with. The French cabinet, always anxious to retain the uſe of a harbour, which, in caſe of a war with Great Britain, was ſituated ſo advantageouſly for the annoyance of our trade, continued clandeſtinely to prevent the demolition of the works. Frequent remonſtrances were made by the Engliſh government, and promiſes extorted from the French cabinet, that the treaty ſhould be carried into effect: but the inhabitants, either by the ſuggeſtion or connivance of the French government, kept the harbour and works in a ſtate of repair.

This was a ſubject which gave great uneaſineſs to the miniſter, on which he frequently expatiated in his letters to his brother, and even reproached him for neglecting to enforce the demolition. It was a point, however, of ſo much delicacy, that cardinal Fleury, though he conſtantly avowed his readineſs to accede to the demands of the Britiſh miniſter, yet always eluded them, probably not daring to irritate the people of France by the enforcement of ſo diſagreeable a command. The delays on this ſubject afforded to oppoſition a ground

* Journals.

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ground for insinuating that the ministry were in connivance with the court of France, to sanction the repairs of that harbour. Bolingbroke was well aware that nothing would more exasperate the public mind, than the persuasion that the French were employed in the reparation of that harbour; and if that fact could be proved, that the suspicion of conniving at it would fall upon the ministry: he was no less convinced, that it would weaken the credit of the minister abroad, if he could prove that France did not fulfil its engagements, and that a misunderstanding had arisen between the two kingdoms. To obtain evidence in support of these points, he sent his secretary, Brinsden, to inspect the state of the works at Dunkirk. Chapter 36. 1730.

On the imperfect and exaggerated report of this agent, was founded a motion for an address, that "the king should direct that all orders, instructions, reports, and proceedings, had in regard to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, since its demolition, be laid before the house." The king having agreed to this address, the necessary documents were produced, which being read, and witnesses examined, Sir William Wyndham moved, that in what had been done relating to the harbour of Dunkirk, there was a manifest violation of the treaties between the two crowns. But before he was seconded, the other side made a motion for an address of thanks to the king, "for his attention to the interests of the nation, in causing a proper application to be made to the

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

court of France, not only for putting a ſtop to the works carrying on, but for demoliſhing ſuch as had been made by the inhabitants of Dunkirk, for repairing the port and channel there; and to expreſs their ſatisfaction in the good effects which his majeſty's inſtances had had, by obtaining expreſs orders from the moſt Chriſtian king, for cauſing to be deſtroyed all the works that might have been erected at Dunkirk, contrary to the treaties of Utrecht and the Hague; and their reliance upon their being punctually executed; and further to declare their ſatisfaction in the firm union and mutual fidelity, which ſo happily ſubſiſted, and were ſo ſtrictly preſerved between the two nations *."

This unexpected motion, which prevented the diſcuſſion of that propoſed by Sir William Wyndham, occaſioned a long and warm debate, in which Walpole ſeems to have particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. The great object of oppoſition was to draw over the Whigs, who uſually ſupported government, and had lately wavered under the plauſible notion that the conduct of the miniſter had been in this inſtance contradictory to the principles and intereſts of their party. The object of the miniſter was to prove to the Whigs, that their principles and intereſts were no ways affected by this controverſy, and that it was ſimply a Tory queſtion. With great art he introduced a perſonal application, and made a moſt vigorous attack

* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 71.

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tack on Bolingbroke, who was particularly obnoxious to the Whigs, at whose instigation he insinuated this inquiry was made, and whose character and spirit of opposition he drew in the most unfavourable colours. Sir William Wyndham, provoked by the philippic against his friend, defended him with uncommon energy, and drew a comparison between him and Walpole, in which he attempted to shew that Bolingbroke was by no means inferior in honesty and integrity to the minister. This comparison called up Henry Pelham, who ably seconded the attack against Bolingbroke, and excited such a general indignation among the Whigs, that the address was carried by 274 against 149 *. The loss of this question by so large a majority, which the opposition expected to have carried triumphantly, increased the popularity of the minister, and his credit abroad; and Horace Walpole, who took a considerably share in the debate, observes in a letter to Poyntz, this was the greatest day, both with respect to the thing itself, and the consequences, that had ever occurred within his memory, for the king and ministry, and must prove a thunder-bolt to their adversaries in England, as well as abroad, as it contradicted the assertions of opposition, that the king and the Whigs were dissatisfied with his brother's administration †.

Chapter 36. 1730.

Another object of great national interest, brought forward by opposition, was to prevent the renewal

On the renewal of the charter of the East India company.

* See Journals.

† Horace Walpole to lord Harrington and Stephen Poyntz. March 2d, 1730. Correspondence.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. of the charter of the East India company, which was near its expiration, and to form another incorporated society without the exclusive privileges, which should grant licences, upon certain conditions, to all persons inclined to trade to the East Indies. The leading men in the minority, foreseeing that the company would apply to the legislature for the renewal of their charter, had secretly prevailed on many respectable merchants in the city to engage in the scheme. It had a popular tendency, from the general aversion which is always entertained against monopolies and exclusive privileges, by those who derive no immediate share from the emoluments; and was still farther recommended by the plausible pretence of easing the public burthens, by obtaining a large sum of money from the new incoroporated society.

Having obtained information of their views, the minister laboured to counteract them. He was convinced that the trade could only be carried on by an exclusive company. The persons who were to form the new society, were wholly unacquainted with the secrets of the business, and unless the company could be induced to communicate information, and to part with its forts and settlements in the country, the trade might be reduced or annihilated. Having concerted his plan with a few of the directors, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and aware that the chief hopes of success conceived by opposition, were founded on the popular ground of obtaining

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ſums of money for the uſe of the public, he anti- Chapter 36.
cipated their views, by inſinuating to the houſe, 1730.
that a part of his ways and means would be derived from the Eaſt India company. This unexpected turn ſurpriſed the minority, and wholly diſconcerted their plan before it was brought to maturity. They had however proceeded ſo far in opening private ſubſcriptions, and making engagements, that they could not recede *. A petition was therefore preſented to the houſe by ſeveral merchants, traders, and others, offering to advance £. 3,200,000 at five payments, before the 25th of May 1733, at an intereſt of 5 per cent. to redeem the fund and trade of the Eaſt India company, provided the lenders might be incorporated and veſted with their whole trade, yet ſo as not to trade with their joint ſtock, or in a corporate capacity, but the trade be open to all his majeſty's ſubjects, upon licence from ſuch propoſed new company, deſiring the ſame, on proper terms and conditions; and provided the trade be exerciſed to and from the port of London only; and be ſubject to redemption at any time upon three years notice, after a term of thirty-one years, and repayment of the principal.

After a long debate, the petition was rejected by a majority of 223 againſt 138 †.

The oppoſition, however, were not intimidated by the rejection of this propoſal. They had been taken

* Horace Walpole to lord Harrington, March 2. Correſpondence.
† Journals.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

taken unawares, and compelled, by the addreſs of the miniſter, to bring it forward before it had been fully digeſted. They reſolved therefore to introduce the buſineſs again, and employed the intervening time in publiſhing anonymous letters, eſſays in periodical papers, and pamphlets, againſt excluſive companies in general, and particularly againſt the Eaſt India company. All the arguments * which had ever been advanced againſt monopolies in this and other mercantile companies, were retailed on this occaſion, and all the benefits which were ſuppoſed to reſult from a free trade, were magnified with great art and ſubtilty. The miniſters and the Eaſt India company were not on their part ſilent; they likewiſe defended, with no leſs ſkill, the advantages of an united company, veſted with excluſive privileges, and bound by peculiar regulations, under the controul of the legiſlature. The petition was again preſented to the houſe of commons, on the 9th of April, and rejected without a diviſion. While it was depending, the miniſter brought in his bill, which prolonged the charter to 1766, on the condition of paying £.200,000 towards the ſupply of the year, and of reducing the intereſt of the money advanced to the public, from £.160,000 to £.120,000, or one per cent. by which bargain, the nation was benefited to the amount of at leaſt a million.

An act which paſſed this ſeſſions, though trifling in itſelf, yet muſt not be omitted, as it formed part

* The reader will find the arguments, pro and con, in Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, who has treated the queſtion with great judgment. Vol. 3. p. 156—162.

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part of those commercial regulations which the minister was endeavouring gradually to introduce, by taking off several restraints that shackled foreign commerce. It seems to have been the first deviation from a general principle which had been established by the European nations who had dominions in America, to maintain an exclusive intercourse between the mother country and the colonies. The narrow spirit of this impolitic restriction, from which incredible advantages were supposed to result, but which in reality was productive of great inconveniencies, did not escape the notice of the minister; and he suffered an exception to be made of rice, as a perishable commodity. An act accordingly was passed, for granting liberty to carry rice from Carolina directly to any part of Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, in British bottoms, navigated by British sailors *. In consequence of this beneficial act, the plantations of rice were considerably increased in the province of Carolina. The good effects of this regulation induced the minister afterwards to extend the privilege to the colony of Georgia. And it is the observation of an eminent commercial writer, "that the consequence of both these well-judged laws has been, that the rice of the American plantations has been preferred to the rice of Verona and Egypt, which had before a general sale †."

Chapter 36. 1730. Rice act.

The

* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 76.

† Anderson's Origin of Commerce, vol. 3, p. 164.

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The oppoſition moved in the courſe of the ſeſſion for various papers, relating to foreign affairs. Of thoſe they obtained, little uſe ſeems to have been made, except to furniſh matter to the writers of pamphlets and eſſays in periodical papers. Theſe publications now aſſumed ſuch an air of violence and audacity, as ſeems to have alarmed the miniſter, perhaps too much, for it induced him to make it one of the topics of animadverſion in the ſpeech from the throne which terminated the ſeſſion.

Cloſe of the ſeſſion.

May 15th.

Change of the miniſtry.

The ſame day on which the houſe was prorogued, Townſhend reſigned. Lord Harrington was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, Henry Pelham ſecretary at war, and the privy ſeal was given to the earl of Wilmington, on whoſe aſſiſtance oppoſition had relied with the moſt perfect ſecurity. In a few months after, he was created lord preſident of the council, which high office he held till the removal of Sir Robert Walpole.

The charge of foreign affairs now oſtenſibly devolved on the duke of Newcaſtle and lord Harrington, whoſe characters form a remarkable contraſt, though they acted together with the utmoſt cordiality.

Character of the duke of Newcaſtle.

Thomas Pelham Holles, duke of Newcaſtle, was ſon of Thomas lord Pelham, by Grace, ſiſter of John Holles, duke of Newcaſtle. He was born in Auguſt 1693-4, and on the death of his father, in 1712, ſucceeded to the barony of Pelham: he inherited a large part of the great eſtate of his uncle, who had no iſſue male, and took the name of

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of Holles. Being of a great Whig family, he ſtrenuouſly promoted the ſucceſſion of the line of Brunſwick. Soon after the acceſſion of George the Firſt, he was created earl of Clare, and in 1715, duke of Newcaſtle. He ſupported the adminiſtration of his brother-in-law * lord Townſhend; but on the ſchiſm of the Whig adminiſtration in 1717, he attached himſelf to Sunderland, by whoſe influence he was appointed lord chamberlain of the houſehold, and inveſted with the order of the garter. On the coalition which took place in 1720, between Sunderland and Townſhend, he joined his former friend. During the ſtruggle in the cabinet between Townſhend and Walpole on one ſide, and Carteret and Cadogan on the other, he uniformly attached himſelf to the brother miniſters. His devotion to their cauſe was ſo warm, and his conſequence as one of the great Whig leaders ſo highly appreciated, that he was ſolely admitted into the moſt intimate confidence, and entruſted with the moſt ſecret tranſactions. In their private correſpondence, they invariably ſtyle him their good friend: Townſhend repeatedly deſires Walpole to give information to the duke. In one place he expreſsly ſays, "When I deſire you to communicate this to no one, I always except the duke of Newcaſtle;" and Walpole no leſs frequently aſſures his correſpondent, that he has no reſerve for their common friend. When it became neceſſary to

* The [illegible] wife of C[illegible] ...aunt Townſhend was Elizabeth, daughter [illegible] Pelha[illegible] ...wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir [illegible] Jo[illegible] ...des the Second.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. to remove Carteret from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, Newcaſtle was ſelected as the fitteſt perſon to fill that ſtation, which in conſequence of the alliance with France, was a-poſt of the higheſt delicacy and importance.

Newcaſtle was thirty years of age when he was raiſed to this office, and as he ſucceeded Carteret, whoſe knowledge of foreign affairs, and talents for buſineſs were duly appreciated, his appointment to ſo important a truſt was contemptuouſly ſpoken of, and the new ſecretary was conſidered as not capable of fully diſcharging the duties of his office. His outward appearance and manners, ſeemed to juſtify this obſervation. He was trifling and embarraſſed in converſation, always eager and in a hurry to tranſact buſineſs, yet without due method. He was unbounded in flattery to thoſe above him, or whoſe intereſt he was deſirous to conciliate, and highly gratified with the groſſeſt adulation to himſelf. The facility with which he made and broke his promiſes, became almoſt proverbial. He was not ſufficiently conſiderate to his ſecretaries and ſubordinate clerks, exacting from them a large ſacrifice of time and labour; and to his immediate dependants he was fretful and capricious.

With theſe unfavourable appearances, he gave few ſymptoms of the talents which he undoubtedly poſſeſſed. In fact, he had much better abilities than are uſually attributed to him. He had a quick comprehenſion; he was an uſeful and frequent debater in the houſe of peers; had an anſwer ready

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ready on all occaſions, and ſpoke with great ani- Chapter 36.
mation, though with little arrangement, and with- 1730.
out grace or dignity. He wrote with uncommon facility, and with ſuch fluency of words, that no one ever uſed a greater variety of expreſſions; and it is a remarkable circumſtance, that in his moſt confidential letters, written with ſuch expedition as to be almoſt illegible, there is ſcarcely a ſingle eraſure or alteration.

His temper was peeviſh and fretful, and he was always jealous of thoſe with whom he acted. Of this jealouſy, Townſhend occaſionally complained in his private correſpondence with Horace Walpole, and in one inſtance, he particularly obſerves, "This was my view in ſending a projet mitoyen, but my dear friend the duke looks upon the thoughts of any body elſe as reflections upon his own; and inſtead of conſidering the uſe that may be made of what is ſuggeſted by another, looks upon it as a perſonal thing, and runs out into a long juſtification of his own performances, which nobody finds fault with *." Sir Robert Walpole alſo repeatedly inſinuated to his correſpondents, not to omit writing confidentially to Newcaſtle, and exhorted them rather to neglect him than the duke, who would be grievouſly offended by the ſmalleſt omiſſion. This jealouſy, ſuppreſſed in ſome meaſure during his ſubordinate ſituation under lord Townſend, increaſed as he advanced in years, was highly troubleſome to the miniſter of the houſe of commons,

* Walpole Papers.

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mons, and created so much disgust, as to occasion frequent altercations.

George the Second had conceived a very early and violent antipathy to the duke of Newcastle, which was augmented by the discordancy of their tempers and habits, particularly by his deficiency in method and exactness, which the king considered as essential characteristics of a minister. The representations of Walpole, on the necessity of conciliating a man so powerful from family and party connections, induced the king to moderate or conceal his repugnance; but his dislike broke out occasionally into bitter expressions of contempt and aversion. In one of these discontented moods, he said to a confidential person, "You see that I am compelled to take the duke of Newcastle to be my minister, who is not fit to be chamberlain in the smallest court of Germany."

With these habits, and this disposition, and under the necessity of struggling against the deep-rooted aversion of George the Second, it is a matter of surprise that he so long retained his power; for if we reckon from his first promotion to the post of lord chamberlain, to his resignation at the commencement of the reign of George the Third, he continued to fill a high situation at court for a period of six and forty years. This long continuance in office was owing to his situation as the chief leader of the Whigs, to his princely fortune and profusion of expence, to the high integrity and disinterestedness of his character, and to the uniform,

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form support which he gave to the house of Brunswick. Chapter 36. 1730.

As a subordinate minister, acting under superior influence, his zeal and activity were highly useful; and his want of order, and warmth of temper, were counteracted and modified by the method and prudence of Walpole. But when he was placed at the head of affairs, he became distracted * with the multiplicity of business, yet unwilling to divide it with others. Weakness of counsels, fluctuation of opinion, and deficiency of spirit, marked his administration during an inglorious period of sixteen years; from which England did not recover, until the mediocrity of his ministerial talents, and the indecision of his character, were controuled by the ascendency of Pitt.

Character of lord Harrington.

His colleague in office, William Stanhope, (descended from Sir John Stanhope, brother of Philip the first earl of Chesterfield) was third son of John Stanhope of Elvaston, in Derbyshire. After receiving a learned education, he entered into the profession of arms; served in Spain under his kinsman James, afterwards earl Stanhope, and after several promotions, obtained, in 1715, a regiment of horse. He was chosen in the first parliament of the reign of George the First, for the town of Derby; and in 1717, appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain. On the rupture between Spain and England in 1718,

* Lord Harvey, in a letter to Horace Walpole, said of him, "that he did nothing in the same hurry and agitation, as if he did every thing." Correspondence, Period V.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. 1718, he was named envoy and plenipotentiary to the court of Turin. In May 1721 he ſerved as a volunteer in the French army commanded by marſhal Berwick, which laid ſiege to Fontarabia. During this war, he concerted a plan for the deſtruction of three Spaniſh ſhips of the line, and a great quantity of naval ſtores, in the port of St. Andero, in the Bay of Biſcay; an Engliſh ſquadron effected that enterprize; he himſelf contributed to the execution, by accompanying a detachment of troops, which Berwick ſent at his ſolicitation, and was the firſt that leaped into the water when the boats approached the ſhore *.

On the peace with Spain, he was conſtituted brigadier general, and returned to Madrid in the ſame character as before. During his reſidence at that court, he was witneſs to many extraordinary events, which he has ably detailed in his diſpatches: the abdication of Philip the Fifth, the ſucceſſion and death of Louis, the reſumption of the crown by Philip, the return of the Spaniſh infanta, the ſeparation of Spain from France, and union with the houſe of Auſtria, and the riſe and fall of Ripperda. He manifeſted great firmneſs and diſcretion when that miniſter was forcibly taken from his houſe; and his conduct on this occaſion, principally impreſſed the king and the miniſters with a deep ſenſe of his diplomatic talents, and contributed to his future elevation.

On the rupture with Spain, which commenced with the ſiege of Gibraltar, he returned to England,

1727.

* Collins's Peerage.

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land, was appointed vice chamberlain to the king, and soon afterwards nominated, in conjunction with Horace Walpole and Stephen Poyntz, plenipotentiary at the congress of Soissons. Chapter 3d. 1730.

He had now two great objects in view, a peerage, and the office of secretary of state. But he had to struggle as well against the ill-will of the king, who was highly displeased with his brother Charles Stanhope, as against the prejudices of Sir Robert Walpole, who, deeply impressed with a recollection of the conduct of earl Stanhope at Hanover, had taken an aversion to the very name. It required all the influence of the duke of Newcastle, and the friendship of Horace Walpole, to surmount these obstructions; which were not removed until he had gained an accession to his diplomatic character, by repairing to Spain, and concluding the treaty of Seville. His merits in that delicate negotiation, extorted the peerage from the king; and on the resignation of lord Townshend, he was nominated secretary of state. In that office, his knowledge of foreign affairs, his application to business, his attention to diplomatic forms, the solemnity of his deportment, the precision of his dispatches, and his propensity to the adoption of vigorous measures against France, on the death of Augustus the Second, rendered him highly acceptable to the king. Having offended queen Caroline, by affecting to set up an interest independent of her, he would have been removed, had not his prudence and caution again conciliated her favour.

He

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He never cordially coaleſced with Sir Robert Walpole; and although he almoſt uniformly acted in ſubſervience to his views, he looked up to the duke of Newcaſtle as his patron and friend, and gave many inſtances in which he ſacrificed his own intereſts, even in oppoſition to the commands of the king, to gratitude and friendſhip. He was a man of ſtrong ſenſe and moderation; of high honour and diſintereſted integrity; and ſo tenacious of his word, that Philip of Spain ſaid of him, "Stanhope is the only foreign miniſter who never deceived me *." He was of a mild and even temper, and contracted, by long habit, ſo much patience and phlegm, that he was characteriſed by the Portugueſe miniſter, Don Azevedo †, as "*not being accuſtomed to interrupt thoſe who ſpoke to him.*" A contemporary hiſtorian ‡ has alſo farther deſcribed him as one whoſe moderation, good ſenſe, and integrity, were ſuch, that he was not conſidered as a party man, and had few or no perſonal enemies. Although he never ſpoke in the houſe of peers, yet he was highly uſeful in recommending to the cabinet the moſt prudent method of attack or defence, and in ſuggeſting hints to thoſe who were endowed with the gift of the tongue.

* Stephen Poyntz to Thomas Townſhend, Auguſt 4, 1729. Correſpondence. † Orford Papers. ‡ Tindal.

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CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SEVENTH:

1730.

Origin and Progress of the Disagreement between Townshend and Walpole.—Resignation—Retreat and Death of Townshend.

Causes of the disagreement between Townshend and Walpole.

THE treaty of Seville was the concluding act of Townshend's administration; it was signed on the 9th of November 1729, and on the 16th of May he retired in disgust from the office of secretary of state. His resignation was owing to a disagreement with his brother-in-law and co-adjutor, Sir Robert Walpole, which had long subsisted. It had been occasionally compromised by the interference of common friends, but finally broke into a rupture, which rendered the continuance of both in office incompatible.

The causes of this misunderstanding were various, and originated from the difference of temper, from disagreement on subjects of domestic and foreign politics, from political and private jealousy.

Townshend was frank and impetuous, long accustomed to dictate in the cabinet, and fond of recommending bold measures. Walpole was mild, insinuating, pliant, and good-tempered; desirous of conciliating by lenient methods, but prepared to employ vigour when vigour was necessary.

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The impetuous manners of Townſhend, began to alienate the king, and diſguſt the queen; ſeveral members of the cabinet were no leſs diſſatisfied with him. Newcaſtle, in particular, was anxious to remove a miniſter, who abſolutely directed all foreign affairs, and who rendered him a mere cypher; he wiſhed to procure the appointment of lord Harrington, who already owed his peerage to him, and who, he flattered himſelf, would act in ſubſervience to his dictates.

To theſe public cauſes of miſunderſtanding, derived from a deſire of pre-eminence, a private motive was unfortunately added. The family of Townſhend had long been the moſt conſpicuous, and accuſtomed to take the lead, as the only one then diſtinguiſhed by a peearge, in the county of Norfolk; the Walpoles were ſubordinate both in eſtate and conſequence, and Houghton was far inferior in ſplendour to Rainham *. But circumſtances were much altered. Sir Robert Walpole was at the head of the treaſury, a peerage had been conferred on his ſon, the increaſe of his paternal domains, the conſtruction of a magnificent ſeat, the acquiſition of a ſuperb collection of paintings, a ſumptuous ſtile of living, and affable manners, drew to Houghton a conflux of company, and eclipſed the more ſober and leſs ſplendid eſtabliſhment at Rainham.

Walpole had long been conſidered as the firſt miniſter in all buſineſs relating to the internal affairs:

* Rainham was built by Inigo Jones for Sir Roger Townſhend.

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fairs: he was the principal butt of oppoſition, for the name of Townſhend ſcarcely once occurs in the Craftſman, and the other political papers againſt government, while that of Walpole is ſeen in almoſt every page. Chapter 37. 1730.

His influence over the queen had, on the acceſſion of George the Second, prevented the removal of Townſhend. He managed the houſe of commons, and was ſupported by a far greater number of friends than his brother miniſter could boaſt, who had little parliamentary influence, and ſtill leſs perſonal credit.

Walpole felt, in all theſe circumſtances, his ſuperior conſequence; he was conſcious that he ſhould be ſupported by the queen, and was unwilling to continue to act in a ſubordinate ſituation; while Townſhend, who had long been uſed to dictate, could not bear any oppoſition to his ſentiments, or any reſiſtance to his views. He conſidered his brother miniſter as one who had firſt enliſted himſelf under his banners, and who ought to continue to act with the ſame implicit obedience to his commands. Hence a ſtruggle for power enſued.

Townſhend had been hitherto the principal diſpenſer of eccleſiaſtical preferments. This great object of miniſterial influence was naturally coveted by Walpole, and had occaſioned frequent diſputes. In many points of domeſtic adminiſtration, the violence of Townſhend's meaſures was reprobated and oppoſed by Walpole, particularly in the buſineſs of Wood's coinage; in the haughty

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manner of writing to the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant of Ireland; and in the meaſures adopted in the riots in Scotland in 1725. In foreign affairs, Walpole affected not to interfere, declaring that he did not underſtand them, and that they did not belong to his department; yet he always oppoſed, as much as lay in his power, all complicated engagements, and uniformly objected to the too laviſh expenditure of the public money in the formation of alliances, which he often conſidered as uſeleſs and chimerical. His remonſtrances had produced a ſenſible effect in oppoſition to the ſentiments of Townſhend; but it was particularly in the negotiation for the treaty of Hanover, that a wide difference of opinion had ſubſiſted. He expreſſed his diſapprobation at the precipitate manner in which it was concluded, and was offended that ſuch an important ſtep had been taken without a due communication to him.

He was ſtill more diſſatisfied when the Daniſh ſubſidy became due. For as France avoided paying her ſhare, and the whole burthen fell upon England, he, as miniſter of finance, was under the neceſſity of finding reſources to ſupply the deficiency.

In ſeveral diſpatches from the foreign miniſters in 1725 and 1726, frequent mention is made of the growing miſunderſtanding between Townſhend and Walpole, and a rupture is deſcribed as unavoidable. Yet theſe bickerings and occaſional inſtances of diſcordant ſentiments, did not alienate

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ate the brother miniſters. They continued to act together, and on the acceſſion of George the Second, the removal of one would have been followed with the reſignation of the other. Their union at this period was ſo cloſe, and the opinion which Walpole entertained of Townſhend ſo favourable, that in 1727, when Townſhend was in imminent danger, Walpole expreſſed, in terms of affection and concern, his apprehenſions of the loſs which the cauſe would ſuſtain from his death; "he conſidered him as the bulwark of the conſtitution; and truſted *that Providence would interpoſe to ſave the man, without whom all muſt fall to the ground* *." Chapter 37. 1730.

Theſe diſputes had been frequently allayed by the interpoſition of lady Townſhend; ſhe had, like an Octavia between Anthony and Auguſtus, by a diſcreet exertion of her influence as wife and ſiſter, moderated the aſperities of the contending politicians. But her mediation had unfortunately ceaſed by her death, which happened in March 1726. Influence and death of lady Townſhend.

Queen Caroline obſerved the growing miſunderſtanding between the brother miniſters, and when the rupture became unavoidable, gave her ſupport to Walpole in preference to Townſhend. By her influence, he ſoon obtained the preponderance. The queen favours Walpole.

Townſhend, thus reduced to act a ſecondary part, was reſolved to make an effort to recover his Prevents the appointment of Cheſterfield.

* See Correſpondence, Period IV.

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

his former power, by removing the duke of Newcaſtle, whoſe official jealouſy, and attempts to raiſe lord Harrington to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, had diſpleaſed him, and placing his friend lord Cheſterfield, who had long aſpired to that ſtation, in his ſtead. Full of theſe projects, he accompanied the king to Hanover; and being the only Engliſh miniſter of the cabinet abroad, embraced the favourable opportunity of ingratiating himſelf. He became more obſequious to the king's German prejudices, paid his court with unceaſing aſſiduity, and appeared to have gained ſo much influence, that he thought himſelf capable of obtaining the appointment of Cheſterfield, who was embaſſador at the Hague, and had conſiderably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his diplomatic capacity. At the ſuggeſtion of lord Townſhend, he waited on the king in his paſſage through Holland, and obtained permiſſion to attend his majeſty to London. When Cheſterfield received the offer of the ſecretaryſhip of ſtate, he inquired of Lord Townſhend whether the queen was ſecured; the anſwer implied no doubt. But as he had offended her majeſty by the court he paid to lady Suffolk, ſhe exerted all her influence, which was ſeldom exerted in vain, to fruſtrate the ſcheme.

Altercation between Townſhend and Walpole.

Such an attempt, however ſecretly conducted, could not eſcape the obſervation of Walpole. He conferred with the queen on the proper means of averting the deſign, and the communications he received from her in this and other particulars, inflamed his reſentment. On quitting the palace after

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after one of these conferences, he met Townshend at colonel Selwyn's, in Cleveland Court, in the presence of the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, colonel and Mrs. Selwyn. The conversation turned on a foreign negotiation, which at the desire of Walpole had been relinquished. Townshend, however, still required that the measure should be mentioned to the commons, at the same time that the house should be informed that it was given up. Walpole objecting to this proposal as inexpedient, and calculated only to give unnecessary trouble, Townshend said, "Since you object, and the house of commons is your concern more than mine, I shall not persist in my opinion; but as I now give way, I cannot avoid observing, that upon my honour I think that mode of proceeding would have been most advisable." Walpole, piqued at these expressions, lost his temper, and said, "My lord, for once, there is no man's sincerity which I doubt so much as your lordship's, and I never doubted it so much as when you are pleased to make such strong professions." Townshend, incensed at this reproach, seized him by the collar, Sir Robert caught hold of him in return, and then both, at the same instant, quitted their grasp, and laid their hands upon their swords. Mrs. Selwyn, alarmed, attempted to call the guards, but was prevented by Pelham. But although their friends interposed to prevent an immediate duel, yet the contumelious expressions used on this occasion, rendered all attempts to heal the breach ineffectual.

Chapter 37. 1730. 1729.

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Great difference of opinion had alſo ariſen in regard to foreign affairs. When Townſhend accompanied the king abroad, in May 1729, he conſidered the Emperor as the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles which impeded a general pacification, and immediately on his arrival at Hanover, plunged into the chaos of German politics. He was ſo much incenſed againſt the Emperor, and ſo vehemently inclined to compel him to accede to the admiſſion of Spaniſh garriſons into Parma and Leghorn, that he promoted, to the utmoſt of his power, the concluſion of a ſubſidiary alliance with the four electors of the Rhine, by which England could not have guarantied the pragmatic ſaction during the exiſtence of that alliance. On the contrary, Walpole, anxious not to do any thing which might render England incapable for a time to gratify the Emperor in his favourite project, ſecretly oppoſed the concluſion of the treaty, and laboured to reconcile the diſcordant politics of Spain and Auſtria, or if that was impoſſible, to conciliate Spain without too much irritating the Emperor.

Their difference as to foreign affairs.

This colliſion of opinions naturally increaſed the miſunderſtanding, led them to counteract each other, and to ſtrive for pre-eminence in the cabinet.

Townſhend ineffectually recommends Methuen.

Having failed in raiſing Cheſterfield to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, Townſhend made a laſt attempt to obtain that place for Sir Paul Methuen; in which he was equally unſucceſsful. Theſe diſappointments increaſed his natural irritability,

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tability, which he vented in peeviſh expreſſions againſt lord Harrington; and theſe reproaches, probably exaggerated by the duke of Newcaſtle, increaſed the animoſities in the cabinet. Chapter 37. 1730.

At length the conteſt was brought to a criſis. Townſhend ſeems to have obtained the good-will of the king by repreſenting, that he was the only ſupport of his German intereſt, that lord Harrington neglected preſſing the plan of operations againſt the Emperor, and that Hanover would be ſacrificed by the new arrangements. Under theſe circumſtances, the duke of Newcaſtle, with the approbation of the Walpoles, drew up a diſpatch to the plenipotentiaries at Soiſſons, diſſuading an attack of the Auſtrian Netherlands, adviſing that an army ſhould be aſſembled on the banks of the Rhine, for the purpoſe of threatening the frontiers of Bohemia; and ſtrongly recommending, that before this plan was concerted with France, propoſals of accommodation ſhould be preſented to the Emperor. But before the letter was ſubmitted to the king, Townſhend had written to his majeſty, enforcing the neceſſity of forming a plan of hoſtile operations before any declaration was made, for the purpoſe of compelling the king of Pruſſia to ſubmit, and reducing the Emperor to accept of the terms dictated by England and her allies. Is finally defeated.

The king approved this advice, and ordered Townſhend to communicate his reſolution to the duke of Newcaſtle and Horace Walpole, that inſtructions might be forwarded to the plenipotentiaries,

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730.

tiaries, in conformity to that opinion. Townſhend accordingly ſent the letter, with the king's anſwer, to Horace Walpole, and went into Norfolk for a few days. In this dilemma, the duke deſpaired of ſucceſs, and propoſed to act agreeably to the dictates of Townſhend. But Sir Robert Walpole communicated Newcaſtle's diſpatch to the queen, and obtained, through her influence, the aſſent of the king, who expreſſed his full approbation of the contents.

Reſigns.

Townſhend, finding that his perſonal influence with the king was not ſufficient to counteract the exertions of his rivals, oppoſed by the queen, and deſerted by the remaining members of the cabinet, gave in his reſignation, and retired from public affairs.

Explains the cauſes of his reſignation.

In ſeveral letters to his confidential correſpondents abroad, which are ſtill extant in the Rainham Collection, Townſhend attributes his reſignation principally to the effects of his dangerous illneſs in 1727, which rendered him incapable of ſupporting the fatigues of his place, but hints at the ſame time with great delicacy at the coolneſs and miſintelligence which had ariſen between him and Sir Robert Walpole, and at the diſguſt he had recently received from that quarter. At the ſame time he adds, with great ſpirit and dignity, he is happy to announce that his retreat has not made any alteration in public affairs, and that he never could have reſolved to quit his ſituation, if he had not been fully convinced that Walpole would follow the ſame principles, and carry on the

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the ſame meaſures which had been hirtherto purſued. In his letter to Slingelandt, he obſerves, "the king has had the goodneſs to permit me to retire in the moſt obliging manner, and has moſt graciouſly received the aſſurances, which I took the liberty to make, that notwithſtanding my reſignation, I ſhould always be ready to furniſh all the eclairciſſements in my power whenever it ſhall be deemed neceſſary for his ſervice." Chapter 37. 1730.

Townſhend retired with a moſt unſullied character for integrity, honour, and diſintereſtedneſs, and gave ſeveral ſtriking proofs that he could command the natural warmth of his temper, and riſe ſuperior to the malignant influence of party and diſappointed ambition. The oppoſition, who had formed ſanguine expectations from the diſunion in the cabinet, were prepared to receive him with open arms, but he reſiſted their advances, and firmly perſevered in his original determination. Soon after Cheſterfield commenced his ardent oppoſition to Walpole, he went to Rainham, and requeſted Townſhend to attend an important queſtion in the houſe of lords. Townſhend replied, that he had formed a reſolution which he could not break, of never again engaging in political conteſts. "I recollect," he added, "that lord Cowper, though a ſtaunch Whig, had been betrayed by perſonal pique and party reſentment, in his oppoſition to the miniſtry, to throw himſelf into the arms of the Tories, and even to ſupport principles which tended to ſerve the cauſe of the Jacobites. I know that I am extremely warm; Retirement.

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warm; and I am apprehenſive if I ſhould attend the houſe of lords, I alſo may be hurried away by the impetuoſity of my temper, and by perſonal reſentment, to adopt a line of conduct, which in my cooler moments I may regret." He maintained this honourable and truly patriotic reſolution; and thus proved himſelf worthy of the higheſt eulogium.

He paſſed the evening of his days in the purſuit of rural occupations and agricultural experiments; his improvements ameliorated the ſtate of huſbandry, his hoſpitality endeared him to his neighbours, and the dignity of his character inſured reſpect. Apprehenſive of being tempted again to enter into thoſe ſcenes of active life, which he had reſolved totally to abandon, he never reviſited the capital, but died at Rainham, in 1738, aged 64.

Death.

Notwithſtanding the aſperity with which this conteſt was conducted, the brother miniſters ſeem to have renounced their friendſhip without forfeiting their eſteem for each other. Townſhend did not indulge in peeviſh expreſſions againſt his ſucceſsful rival, and Sir Robert Walpole never blamed the miniſterial conduct or depreciated the abilities of lord Townſhend. He was always unwilling to enter into the cauſes of their diſunion; when an intimate friend preſſed him on the ſubject ſome years afterwards, he made ſeveral attempts to evade the queſtion, and at length replied, "It is difficult to trace the cauſes of a diſpute between ſtateſmen, but I will give you the hiſtory

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hiſtory in a few words; as long as the firm of the houſe was Townſhend and Walpole, the utmoſt harmony prevailed; but it no ſooner became Walpole and Townſhend, than things went wrong, and a ſeparation enſued *."

* The contents of this chapter are derived from the letters in the Correſpondence —Etough's Papers.—The late Earl of Hardwicke's Memorandums.—Maty's Life of Lord Cheſterfield.—Communications from the late earl of Orford, lord Sydney, and his brother Charles Townſhend, eſquire.

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PERIOD THE FIFTH:

From the Reſignation of Lord TOWNSHEND to the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

1730—1734.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-EIGHTH.

1730—1731.

Walpole inclines to a Reconciliation with the Emperor.—Negotiations which preceded and terminated in the Treaty of Vienna.—Treaty of Seville carried into Execution.—Tranſactions in Parliament.—General Satisfaction.—Character of Earl Waldegrave, the new Embaſſador at Paris.

Walpole conducts foreign affairs.

THE reſignation of Townſhend placed Walpole in a new point of view. Hitherto he had taken no public part in foreign affairs, and only indirectly influenced the current negotiations, either through the private interpoſition of the queen, or the medium of his brother, affecting to leave the ſole direction of thoſe matters to the ſecretary of ſtate. But the removal of Townſhend inſtantly changed his ſituation. The duke of Newcaſtle for ſome time continued to act the ſame ſubordinate part as before; and the new ſecretary, lord Harrington, received his impulſe from the miniſter of the finance, or from his brother Horace.

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Horace. Walpole, therefore, now took a more open and decided place in the regulation of foreign tranſactions, and his opinion ſeems to have principally contributed to the renewal of the ancient connection with the houſe of Auſtria, with whom England had been ſo long in a ſtate of open defiance. Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

He had ſagaciouſly appreciated the advantages which reſulted to England from the alliance with France, convinced that an union with that power had effectually hurt the cauſe of the Pretender, and counteracted the ſchemes of the Jacobites. He was aware that France, during the minority of Louis the Fifteenth, or under the government of a prime miniſter like Cardinal Fleury, of a pacific and timid diſpoſition, was a very proper ally in a defenſive treaty, to check and prevent the deſigns of the Emperor, who had formed ſchemes and alliances detrimental to the ſecurity and commerce of England. He well knew that miniſters of a free nation muſt ſometimes be obliged to contract new engagements, in oppoſition to thoſe powers with whom they would have been willing to have lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, upon juſt and honourable terms *. Promotes a reconciliation with the Emperor.

He had therefore concurred with Townſhend, in warmly promoting the alliance with France, and was not deterred by the popular outcry, that the meaſures of the cabinet were directed to lower our natural ally, the houſe of Auſtria, and exalt France, our natural enemy, from purſuing a plan which ſecured

* The intereſt of Great Britain ſteadily purſued, p. 26.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

cured to England internal tranquillity and external peace. The improvement of our commerce and manufactures were a full justification of this wise measure.

But things were now considerable changed. The solid establishment of the house of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain, and the number of Jacobites who, on the quiet accession of George the Second, renounced their principles, had lessened the danger of internal commotions, and rendered the co-operation of France in favour of the Pretender, less an object of alarm.

State of the French cabinet.

The relative situation of France was no less changed. Morville, the friend of England, had been dismissed from the office of secretary of state, and his successor, Chauvelin, the enemy of England, governed Cardinal Fleury. A reconciliation had taken place between France and Spain, and the ancient jealousy between France and England began to revive on both sides.

In consequence of this alteration of circumstances, France acted from policy an indecisive and wavering part. When the Emperor, in opposition to the arrangements made by the allies of Seville, declared, that if Spanish troops should enter Tuscany, he would drive them out, it became necessary either to force him te execute that treaty, or to prevail upon him, by the guaranty of his favourite object, the pragmatic sanction. Cardinal Fleury affected to co-operate with England, in obtaining the consent of the Emperor, either by force or persuasive means; but artfully threw

* obstacles

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obſtacles in the way of both. Various ſchemes for effecting that end were propoſed. It was the great object of England to prevent the invaſion of the Low Countries, and to confine principally the ſeat of war to Sicily, or at leaſt to Italy. It was the view of the French to extend it to the other parts of the Auſtrian dominions, under the hopes of making conqueſts on the ſide of Germany and the Low Countries. Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

When the two nations were actuated with ſuch different views, no co-incidence of opinion could be expected. France objected to all ſchemes, either of compulſion or compromiſe, and endeavoured to throw the blame of inactivity on the Engliſh and Dutch. Meanwhile Spain complained bitterly that the treaty of Seville was not executed, and that Parma and Tuſcany, for the attainment of which ſhe had acceded to the quadruple alliance, were on the point of being loſt.

Negotiations at Vienna.

Walpole now perceived that the ſtrict alliance with France could no longer be maintained. He had two objects in view, the one, according to his own expreſſions, to avoid a war with the Emperor, for fear of its conſequences, and the other with Spain, on account of our trade, and the only method of effecting both theſe purpoſes was to renew the ancient connection with the houſe of Auſtria, and to lure the Emperor to accede to the treaty of Seville, with a promiſe of guarantying the pragmatic ſanction.

On theſe intereſting topics he maintained a correſpondence with his brother, Horace Walpole,

 embaſſador

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. embaſſador at Paris; combated his opinion in favour of continuing the friendſhip with France, and gradually brought him over to approve a negotiation with the houſe of Auſtria.

The Emperor had, before the treaty of Seville, endeavoured to open a ſeparate negotiation with England, and ſince its concluſion had thrown out hints to our embaſſador at Vienna, that a thorough reconciliation might eaſily be effected. In conſequence of theſe inſinuations, the Britiſh cabinet decided on making the attempt, and lord Harrington announced this reſolution in an official diſpatch to Mr. Robinſon, who had ſucceeded earl Waldegrave in the embaſſy to Vienna *.

An anſwer being tranſmitted, that the Imperial court was inclined, with every appearance of ſincerity on their part, to renew their ancient connection with England, on fair and reaſonable conditions, farther inſtructions were forwarded from the ſecretary of ſtate, together with the plans of treaties and declarations to be ſigned by the Emperor, both in regard to the diſputes with England, and to the king's German affairs †.

While this negotiation was pending, the delay gave ſuch umbrage to the king of Spain, that he Jan. 29. declared, by the Marquis of Caſtellar, his embaſſador at Paris, that he conſidered himſelf free from all engagements contracted on his part by the treaty of Seville, and at full liberty to adopt ſuch

* September 14-25, 1730. Correſpondence, Period V.

† Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinſon, Dec. 4-15, 1730.

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ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to his intereſts.

Death of the duke of Parma.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, the duke of Parma died; the ducheſs, his widow, declared herſelf pregnant: the Emperor, with the ſecret connivance of England, took poſſeſſion of Parma, making at the ſame time a declaration, that if the ducheſs ſhould be delivered of a ſon, the introduction of the Spaniſh troops ſhould take place; if of a daughter, Don Carlos ſhould inſtantly receive the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, from the Emperor and empire.

Parliamentary proceedings.

In opening this negotiation, the Britiſh cabinet had declared the determined reſolution of the king to make the treaty of Seville the baſis of the new alliance, and the ſecuring to Don Carlos the ſucceſſion to Tuſcany and Parma was held out as an indiſpenſable article. The miniſter was aware that the beſt method to obtain peace was to be prepared for war, and that the only ſucceſsful means for carrying the treaty of Seville into effect, were to be ready to enforce its execution by vigorous meaſures. The ſpeech which the king delivered from the throne on the meeting of parliament, was drawn up by him in conformity with theſe ſentiments. After declaring, that every meaſure was adopted to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal conſequences of a general rupture; and that it was impoſſible to ſtate the ſupplies which would be required for the current ſervice of the year, until peace or war

Jan. 21.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

ſhould be decided upon, it concluded with theſe ſtrong expreſſions:

"The time draws near, which will admit of no farther delays. If the tranquillity of Europe can be ſettled without the effuſion of blood, or the expence of public treaſure, that ſituation will certainly be moſt happy and deſirable. But if that bleſſing cannot be obtained, honour, juſtice, and the ſacred faith due to ſolemn treaties, will call upon us to exert ourſelves, in procuring by force, what cannot be had upon juſt and reaſonable terms *."

The negotiation was carried on with ſo much addreſs and ſecrecy, that although ſome rumour of it tranſpired, and hints were thrown out in the Craftſman, yet the debate on the ſide of the minority was conducted on a ſuppoſition, that England was preparing to execute the treaty of Seville by force, and an amendment to the addreſs was propoſed, that the king ſhould be requeſted not to concur in a war againſt the Emperor, either in Flanders or on the Rhine. But when this propoſition was negatived, a more plauſible amendment was ſuggeſted by oppoſition, who artfully availed themſelves of the prejudice conceived againſt the king for his attachment to Hanover; they propoſed to inſert, that they would ſupport his majeſty's engagements, ſo far as they related to the intereſt of Great Britain. In anſwer to this propoſal, Walpole did not heſitate to declare,

* Journals.

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declare, "That such an expression in their address would seem to insinuate, that the king had entered into engagements that did not relate to the interests of Great Britain, which would be a great instance of ingratitude towards the king, who in all his measures had never shewed the least regard to any thing but the interest of Great Britain, and the ease and security of the people; as all those who had the honour to serve him could testify, and upon their honour declare; he hoped every member of that house was convinced, that the king would never enter into any engagement that was not absolutely necessary for procuring the happiness, and insuring the safety, of his subjects, and therefore it was quite unnecessary to confine the words of their address to such engagements as related to the interest of Great Britain *." Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

Nothing was said directly in answer to this assertion, though so much might have been said. It was only urged, that to support any hostile operations against the Emperor on the Rhine, was absolutely destructive to the interests of Great Britain, tending to the total subversion of the balance of power; that the house had good reason to believe that no minister would dare to advise the king to such a measure; and the member who used these strong expressions, concluded by opposing the amendment as unnecessary: the address was therefore carried without a division. It was also drawn up by the minister, and after acknowledging,

* Chandler.

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ledging, in terms of gratitude, the king's goodneſs, "in endeavouring to have the conditions of the treaty of Seville fulfilled and executed, in ſuch manner as might beſt ſecure a general pacification, and be conformable to his engagements with his allies," declared, "that they would, with all chearfulneſs, grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and effectually enable the king to make good his engagements *."

Unanimity and zeal.

The unanimity and vigour of this addreſs, which was equally adopted by the houſe of peers, had a great effect on the tranſactions abroad, and gave energy to the negotiations of Vienna.

In conſequence of the adoption of theſe meaſures, lord Harrington expreſſed to the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna, the king's diſapprobation of the delays and obſtacles with which the Imperial court clogged the progreſs of the negotiations, replied to the counter project of the Emperor, gave farther inſtructions, and ſent the ultimatum of the cabinet.

Obſtructions to the Auſtrian alliance.

Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the miniſtry well knew that the obſtacles were derived no leſs from the pertinacity of the Hanoverian, than the haughtineſs of the Imperial court, and one of the great difficulties which occurred in concluding an accommodation, aroſe from blending the affairs of Germany with thoſe of England.

Mr. Ro-

* Chandler.

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Mr. Robinſon had been particularly ordered * "to continue the greateſt friendſhip and confidence towards Dieden, the Hanoverian agent at Vienna, and act in perfect concert with him in every thing, wherein the king's intereſts were concerned: And to employ his beſt offices and inſtances with the Imperial miniſters, for procuring the moſt effectual redreſs and ſatisfaction to the king upon the ſeveral demands which Dieden was inſtructed to make for that purpoſe to the court of Vienna."

Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

Theſe objects of contention between the Emperor and the king, as elector of Hanover, were ſo various, complicated, and delicate, that the treaty would never have been concluded, had the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna inſiſted, according to his official orders, upon a full and ſatisfactory anſwer to all the points in diſpute. Fortunately, the cabinet of London, influenced by Walpole, had the courage to cut the gordian knot, which it could not unlooſe; lord Harrington, in a private letter, inſtructed Mr. Robinſon † to ſign the treaty with England, and to refer the German affairs to a future deciſion.

Removed.

Another great difficulty in conducting this negotiation, aroſe from an erroneous opinion, formed by the Emperor, that the miniſters of the Engliſh cabinet were diſunited, and from a jealouſy that the two Walpoles, who were known to direct the helm

Farther difficulties obviated.

* Grantham Papers. Diſpatch from lord Harrington to Mr. Robinſon, $\frac{4}{15}$ December, 1730. Correſpondence.

† Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinſon, January 28th—February 8th, 1731. Correſpondence.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

helm of government, were favourable to the alliance with France, and consequently hostile to the house of Austria. This notion had been supported by the duchess of Kendal, in her correspondence with the Empress, and corroborated by some leading members of opposition, who had long held a private intercourse of letters with the Emperor or his ministers.

This false opinion, together with the difficulty of settling the German affairs, suspended the signature of the treaty. In this moment of doubt and uncertainty, a letter * from Horace Walpole to Mr. Robinson, conveying the strongest assurances of his own and his brother's sentiments in favour of the Emperor, decided the Imperial cabinet, and hastened the conclusion.

Second treaty of Vienna.

The treaty was signed on the 16th of March, and is usually called the second treaty of Vienna, to distinguish it from that which was concluded in 1725. It was a defensive alliance, and stipulated a reciprocal guaranty of mutual rights and possessions; on the part of England, to guaranty the Emperor's succession, according to the pragmatic sanction; on that of the Emperor, to abolish the Ostend company, and all trade to the East Indies, from any part of the Austrian Netherlands, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany, and not to oppose the introduction of Spanish garrisons.

Effects of the treaty.

Thus was this great and difficult task of preventing a general war, accomplished with an address

* February 9—20, 1732. Correspondence.

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dreſs and ſecrecy that reflected high honour on those who conducted it. The treaty of Seville was carried into execution without force, and without breach of faith to any other power: to Don Carlos, Parma was ſecured, with the conſent of the Emperor, and the eventual ſucceſſion of Tuſcany guarantied; Spain was ſatisfied with England; and the Emperor, gratified with the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, conſidered this union as the commencement of a new æra to the houſe of Auſtria. Chapter. 38. 1730 to 1731.

The ſatisfaction in England was full and complete. In fact, no event more diſconcerted oppoſition, or raiſed the miniſter higher in the eſtimation of the public. It had long been a favourite theme of popular declamation, that his meaſures had a tendency to lower the houſe of Auſtria, and to exalt the power of France. Their arguments were therefore now turned againſt themſelves; the breach of the French alliance, and reconciliation with Auſtria, took away one plauſible topic of raillery and invective.

The only popular objection to the management of foreign affairs now was, that England was entangled in a multiplicity of treaties and guaranties; that no rupture could take place in Europe, in which we ſhould not be obliged to interfere as principals; that it was the ſteady intereſt of Great Britain to contract no burthenſome engagements, and to truſt to her naval ſtrength and inſular ſituation for repelling all foreign attempts. Objections of oppoſition.

To

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

To this general objection a general anſwer was returned; that a nation, whoſe ſtrength depends upon the flouriſhing ſtate of trade and credit, (inſeparable from that of public tranquillity) whoſe commerce extends to all parts of the world, and is founded on compacts and ſtipulations with powers of different and incompatible intereſts; who has as many enviers as neighbours, as numerous rivals as there are commercial powers, muſt have a more extenſive and particular intereſt to foreſee and obviate thoſe troubles, which, if not prevented in time, might occaſion great diſturbances, might place ſo large a ſhare of dominion in the hands of once prince, as to endanger the liberties of the reſt, and conſequently interrupt her trade. A people thus ſituated, muſt provide themſelves with foreign ſupport, proportionable to the attempts that may be apprehended from the continental powers to their prejudice, which cannot poſſibly be ſecured but by reciprocal engagements on their part, and by intereſting themſelves as deeply in the welfare of other nations, as they expect thoſe nations to intereſt themſelves on their behalf.

Anſwered.

Treaty of Seville carried into execution.

This compact having ſecured the conſent of the Emperor to the introduction of Spaniſh troops, Philip revoked the marquis de Caſtelar's declaration, and acceded to the new treaty of Vienna; and the execution of it, which ſpeedily followed, proved the ſincerity of the Imperial and Britiſh courts. After a few altercations between the Emperor

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peror and Don Carlos, the one claiming Parma as an inheritance, and the other inſiſting on conferring it as a fief of the empire, the Spaniſh troops landed at Leghorn, on the 20th of October, under convoy of the Britiſh and Spaniſh fleet. Don Carlos himſelf arrived there on the 26th of December, and was put in full poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia. Chap. 38. 1730 to 1731

In opening this negotiation, Walpole had been anxious not to irritate France, before he had conciliated the court of Vienna. He judged it prudent to ſend in the place of his brother Horace, who had returned from his embaſſy at Paris, a perſon agreeable to Cardinal Fleury, and in whom he could implicitly confide. Lord Cheſterfield had been recommended for that poſt, as a prelude to his being appointed ſecretary of ſtate; but Horace Walpole repreſented to his brother, that his temper and habits would not accord with thoſe of the Cardinal, and ſuggeſted the earl of Waldegrave, as more proper for ſo delicate a ſituation, who was accordingly nominated. Character and embaſſy of the earl of Waldegrave.

James earl of Waldegrave was deſcended from an ancient family in Northamptonſhire, whoſe anceſtors may be traced in a direct line to times anterior to the conqueſt. They were lords of the towns of Waldegrave, Twywell and Slipton, in the county of Northampton *; Sir Richard Waldegrave

* As the account of the Waldegrave family given by Collins, is incorrect in many particulars, a more accurate ſtatement is here added from family documents, communicated by the counteſs of Waldegrave. "Waldegrave, a Saxon by lyneall deſcent, lord of the county of Northampton, had at the conqueſt one only daughter, and her

Period V. 1730 to 1734. degrave was ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in 1382; and ſome of his anceſtors received the eſtates of Naveſtock and Borely, in Eſſex, and Chewton in Somerſetſhire, as grants from Henry the Eighth.

In 1643 Sir Edward Waldegrave was made a baronet, and his great grandſon, Sir Henry Waldegrave, was, in 1685, created a peer, by the title of baron Waldegrave, of Chewton *, in Somerſetſhire, where the family then principally reſided. On the revolution he followed the fortunes of James the Second, whoſe natural daughter, Henrietta, by Arabella Churchill, he had eſpouſed, and to whom he had many and great obligations. He died at Paris in 1689.

His eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor James, of whom we are now treating, was born in 1684, and educated in the Roman Catholic religion. In 1722 he entered into the communion of the church of England,

" her he married, by the conqueror's commandment, to Guerim or " Warin de Waldegrave of Normandie, by means of which mar- " riage Waldegrave the Saxon had a pardon granted him by the con- " queror, of his life and land, notwithſtanding he bore arms againſt " him at Battle Abbey, on king Harold's part, which pardon is yet ex- " tant, and was lately in the hands of the lords of the manor of Wal- " degrave, &c. in the county of Northampton. This town and ma- " nor was ſold by Sir William Waldegrave, knight, in the reign of " king Henry the Eighth."

Waldegrave is of Saxon derivation, from *Walde*, and *Grave*, ſignifying the ruler of a *Walde* or foreſt. The anceſtors of the preſent earl reſided in different counties at different periods. A Sir Richard Waldegrave, who was ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in 1382, married the heireſs of Sylveſter of Buers, in the county of Suffolk, and either himſelf or ſome of his deſcendants, more than once repreſented that county.—The grants of Naveſtock, Borely, and Chewton, probably occaſioned the ſale of the family inheritance in Northamptonſhire.

* Collins's Peerage. Collinſon's Hiſtory of Somerſetſhire.—Article Chewton.

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England, and took his ſeat in the houſe of peers. His uncle, the duke of Berwick, being deſirous to mortify him for having renounced his faith, inquired of him whether he had made his abjuration from political or religious motives, and uſed the expreſſion, "*confeſs* the truth," to which he plied, "I changed my religion to avoid *confeſſion*."

When it was thought neceſſary to ſend an embaſſador to Vienna, for the purpoſe of executing the articles agreed upon in the preliminaries ſigned between England, France, and the Emperor at Paris, and of conciliating the Emperor, who had been diſſatisfied with the king of England, lord Waldegrave was ſelected as the perſon whoſe mild and affable demeanour beſt qualified him for that negotiation. George the Firſt, who conſidered the miſſion as too great a condeſcenſion after the ill uſage he had received from the Emperor, ſent word that he approved the perſon, though he diſliked the errand *.

Lord Waldegrave ſet out in May 1727, and arrived at Paris on the 14th of June. The difficulty of ſettling the complicated negotiations, and the events which followed the death of George the Firſt, detained him in France nearly a year. He went to Vienna in April 1728. During his reſidence in that capital, he corrected the miſtatement which the oppoſition in England had tranſmitted of their ſtrength, and of the weakneſs of the party that eſpouſed the meaſures of government; and plainly ſhewed that the diviſions in the

* Earl of Waldegrave's Diary.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. the cabinet would not diminiſh the weight and influence of Great Britain abroad. He proved to the Imperial miniſters, that the preliminaries with Spain contained no conditions hoſtile to the houſe of Auſtria, and were ſtrictly conformable to the articles of the quadruple alliance. He threw out hopes to the Emperor of a future accommodation with England, and that the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction might be the conſequence of acceding to the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Parma and Leghorn. He obtained a ratification of the preliminary articles between the Emperor, England, and France, and laid the foundation of the reconciliation, which Mr. Robinſon carried into execution. He then returned to Paris, where he was appointed embaſſador extraordinary on the reſignation of Horace Walpole.

He filled this difficult employment ten years, during a period in which the diſunion between France and England was gradually increaſing to an open rupture.

For his ſervices at Vienna, he was created viſcount Chewton and earl of Waldegrave, and his exertions at Paris were rewarded with the garter. In 1740 he obtained leave to return for the recovery of his health. He embarked for England, October 1740, and died at his ſeat at Naveſtock in Eſſex, on the 11th of April 1741, in the 57th year of his age.

He was in high confidence with Sir Robert Walpole, and was the foreign embaſſador in whom, next to his brother, the miniſter principally con-

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fided. Several letters which paſſed between them, and are printed in the correſpondence, prove the truth of this aſſertion. He conducted himſelf in his embaſſies with conſummate addreſs, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by obtaining ſecret information in times of emergency. Though a man of pleaſure, he purſued buſineſs, when buſineſs was neceſſary, with indefatigable diligence. His letters are written with great ſpirit, perſpicuity, and good ſenſe, and are peculiarly entertaining. He had ſo little the appearance of a man of buſineſs, that he was conſidered as incapable of writing ſuch excellent diſpatches as he tranſmitted to England, and they were principally attributed to his ſecretary, Mr. Thompſon. But this unjuſt imputation was ſoon proved to be falſe, when the embaſſador left France, and the ſecretary remained chargé d'affaires. The inferiority of his letters, to thoſe which were written during Waldegrave's embaſſy, was ſtriking, and carried a full conviction, that they were of his own compoſition. I am enabled alſo to do juſtice to the abilities of the earl of Waldegrave in this reſpect. A complete collection of his letters and diſpatches, from 1727 to 1740, is preſerved at Naveſtock, and the greater number are original draughts written in his own hand, with ſuch eraſures and alterations as fully prove that they were ſolely his compoſition. They do honour to his diplomatic talents, and prove ſound ſenſe, an inſinuating addreſs, and elegant manners.

Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

The

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. Suſpicions of France.

The renewal of the ancient alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, had greatly diſpleaſed the French cabinet, and particularly diſguſted cardinal Fleury, whoſe ſentiments were always inclined to the adoption of pacific meaſures, who (however influenced by the counſels of Chauvelin) was convinced that the peace of Europe had been principally owing to the union between France and England, who appreciated the ſentiments of Sir Robert Walpole as congenial to his own, and who from long habits of intimacy and confidence, had contracted a partiality for Horace Walpole, which he was unwilling to relinquiſh. He conſidered this alliance as a prelude to inceſſant bickerings and future conteſts; and, being well acquainted with the domineering ſpirit of the houſe of Auſtria, and the eagerneſs of Charles the Sixth, to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, ſuſpected that his aſſent to the treaty of Vienna was purchaſed with a promiſe on the part of England, to compel France to accede to that guaranty, and expreſſed in ſtrong terms of indignation, his apprehenſion of ſecret articles derogatory to the intereſts of France.

The candid anſwer of the Britiſh cabinet, conveyed through the earl of Waldegrave, removed the jealouſies of the cardinal. The king and cabinet in England, had now adopted, however unwillingly, the principles of the pacific miniſter, and De la Faye, under ſecretary of ſtate, ſpoke the ſentiments of Walpole, when he obſerved, that

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that no one but a person totally ignorant of the British constitution, could for a moment have entertained such an opinion. The king, he remarked, could not engage in war without money, and must apply to parliament for supplies, if such a misfortune should occur. The parliament, who spoke the voice of the nation, might be induced to grant supplies for the purpose of keeping out the Pretender, protecting merchants, preserving trade, or maintaining Gibraltar; but it would have been a monstrous conduct to propose an annual supply of five millions for the purpose of compelling France to guaranty the pragmatic sanction. The nation could never bear such a proposition, and the minister who had the folly to make it, would justly incur the indignation of the people *.

Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731. Removed.

The earl of Waldegrave being recalled from Vienna, it became necessary to depute a person of confidence to that court, on whom the Walpoles could no less implicitly depend; nor can a greater proof of their superior ascendancy in the cabinet be given, than that Mr. Robinson was the person who was chosen to fill this important situation at this critical juncture.

Thomas Robinson, afterwards knight of the Bath, and lord Grantham, was fourth son of Sir William Robinson, baronet, of the county of York, by Mary, daughter of George Aislabie, of Studley

Mission and character of Mr. Robinson.

* De la Faye to the earl of Waldegrave, August 16th, 1731. Correspondence.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. Studley Royal. He was brought up at Weſtminſter ſchool, and completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow in 1719. In 1723, he accompanied Horace Walpole as ſecretary to the embaſſy at Paris, and was diſtinguiſhed by him with the higheſt marks of confidence and eſteem; under his inſtructions, and from his example, he acquired a conſummate experience in diplomatic concerns. During the abſence of the embaſſador, he was entruſted with the management of the Engliſh affairs in France, and conducted himſelf with ſo much addreſs and ability, that he was not duped even by the affected candour of cardinal Fleury, nor deluded by the artifices of Chauvelin. Great command of temper, patience of contradiction, dignity of manner, frankneſs in receiving, and quickneſs in anſwering objections, rendered him peculiarly adapted to counteract the chicanery of the Imperial court, to ſoften the domineering and punctilious character of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and to conciliate the diſcordant tempers of the four miniſters of the conference *. He continued at the court of Vienna from 1730 to 1748, when he was deputed embaſſador and joint plenipotentiary with the earl of Sandwich, to conclude the peace of Aix la Chapelle.

His diſpatches are clear and perſpicuous, ſo explicit and deſcriptive, as to convey a faithful picture of the tempers and characters of thoſe with whom

* Prince Eugene, count Zinzendorff, count Staremberg, and the biſhop of Bamberg.

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whom he negotiated; and it was truly ſaid of him, that he not only ſet down every word that was uttered in his conferences with the Imperial miniſters, but noted even their looks and geſtures. Theſe intereſting documents contain a copious, and almoſt uninterrupted narrative of the tranſactions between England and the court of Vienna, during a period of eighteen years, big with events, that threatened the downfal of the houſe of Auſtria, which was averted by the heroiſm of Maria Thereſa, and the interpoſition of England. In 1742 he was made knight of the Bath, and ſoon after the concluſion of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, returned to England. He was ſucceſſively appointed lord of trade, maſter of the great wardrobe, and ſecretary of ſtate. In 1761 he was created a peer, by the title of lord Grantham, and died in 1770, aged ſeventy-three.

Chapter 38. 1730 to 1731.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-NINTH:

1731.

Biographical Memoirs of William Pulteney.—Origin and Progreſs of his Miſunderſtanding with Walpole.

TWO errors are principally to be avoided by an author, that undertakes to write the life of a miniſter, who directed, during ſo long a period, the helm of government, and whoſe conduct materially affected the intereſts of Great Britain

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. and the fate of Europe: the first is such a bias of affection and partiality, as to draw a panegyric rather than a history; the second, an indiscriminate prejudice against those who headed the opposition; and who, because they were enemies to Sir Robert Walpole, have been held forth by his partisans as devoid of all principle, and using, in every instance, their reprobation to his measures, as a cloak for malice and rancour. This last is the usual error of biographers; yet it appears extraordinary to a candid mind, that in order to raise the character of one great man, it should seem necessary to debase all his opponents, and that no allowance should be made for difference of opinion, or inveterate habits and prepossessions. Because the party writers of opposition have loaded Walpole with invective, is it just to asperse his adversaries with equal virulence?

But in no instance has prejudice been carried to a greater height, then in drawing the character and conduct of Pulteney, the great leader of opposition. He, above all others, has been exposed to the fiery ordeal of party; not only by the friends of the minister whom he drove from the helm, but also by those who were once joined with him, and who, discontented at the disposal of offices on the change of administration, railed at their former leader, because they were not promoted to those places which they claimed as the reward of their long perseverance.

William

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Chapter 39. 1731.

Family, birth, and education of Pulteney.

William Pulteney * was descended from an ancient family, who took their surname from a place of that appellation in Leicestershire. His grandfather, Sir William Pulteney, was member of parliament for the city of Westminster, and highly distinguished himself in the house of commons for his manly and spirited eloquence.

Of his father, William Pulteney, I find little upon record, except his birth, marriage, and death.

William Pulteney †, his eldest son, was born in 1682, received his education at Westminster school, where he greatly improved in classical literature; and being removed to Christ Church, Oxford, so highly distinguished himself by his talents and industry, that he was appointed, by dean Aldrich, to make the congratulatory speech to queen Anne, on her visit to the college.

Comes into parliament.

Having travelled through various parts of Europe, he returned to his native country, with a mind

* Sir William Pulteney, Knt.

- William.
  - William Earl of Bath, b. 1682, d. 1764.
  - Harry Pulteney, d. Oct. 1767.
- John.
  - Daniel, d. 1731.
    - Frances = Sir William (Johnstone) Pulteney, Bart.
      - Henrietta Laura, Baroness Bath.

† I am indebted to the kindness of the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas) for some of these anecdotes, which relate to the early part of Mr. Pulteney's life.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. mind highly improved; and came into parliament for the borough of Heydon, in Yorkshire, by the interest of Mr. Guy, his protector and great benefactor.

Being descended from a Whig family, and educated in revolution principles, the young senator warmly espoused that party, and during the whole reign of queen Anne opposed the measures of the Tories.

He first spoke in the house on the place bill, which he warmly supported, and some amendments being made by the lords, the discussion, was, by the intervention of the ministry, postponed for three days; during which interval, means were found to gain over several who had opposed the bill, and the amendments seemed likely to be carried.

The young senator, indignant at this apostacy, and irritated that several had, in a few days, totally changed their opinions, animadverted in a few words on such political baseness and alluding to Sir James Montague *, who after having distinguished himself in opposition to the amendments, now voted for them, observed, "Cerberes has received his sop, and barks no more;" a remark which struck the house as ready and pertinent.

He had formed a just notion, that no young member ought to press into public notice with too much forwardness, and fatigue the house with long orations, until he had acquired the habit of order and precision. He was often heard to declare,

* Afterwards solicitor and attorney general.

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clare, that hardly any perſon ever became a good orator, who began with making a ſet ſpeech. He conceived that circumſtances of the moment ſhould impel them to the delivery of ſentiments, which ſhould derive their tenor and application from the courſe of the debate, and not be the reſult of previous ſtudy or invariable arrangement. Chapter 39. 1731.

Pulteney and his partiſans accuſed Walpole of being "a wretch who could not raiſe £. 100 upon his own ſecurity;" in the ſame manner, the advocates of Walpole accuſed Pulteney, with equal injuſtice, of having received favours and bribes from the crown, and of ingratitude in forſaking the miniſter, to whom he owed great obligations. But both accuſations were equally devoid of truth. Pulteney inherited from his father a very conſiderable eſtate, and had received from Henry Guy, the intimate friend of his grandfather, and guardian of his youth, and who had been ſecretary to the treaſury, a legacy of £. 40,000, and an eſtate of £. 500 a year. He received alſo with his wife Anna Maria, daughter of John Gumley, of Iſleworth, a very large portion, and increaſed this property, by the moſt rigid œconomy, which his enemies called avarice; but which did not prevent him from performing many acts of charity and beneficence. Fortune.

During the whole reign of queen Anne, Pulteney uniformly eſpouſed the ſide of the Whigs; and ſupported, both by his eloquence and fortune, the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. On the proſecution of Sacheverel, he ably diſtin- Parliamentary conduct.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

guiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons, in defence of the revolution, againſt the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. When the Tories came into power, in 1710, he was ſo obnoxious to them, that his uncle, John Pulteney, was removed from the board of trade. He not only took a principal ſhare in the debates of the four laſt years of queen Anne, while the Whigs were in oppoſition, but was alſo admitted into the moſt important ſecrets of his party, at that critical time, when the ſucceſſion of the Hanover family being ſuppoſed to be in danger, its friends thought themſelves obliged to engage in very bold enterpriſes to ſecure it. He was a liberal ſubſcriber to a very unprofitable and hazardous loan, then ſecretly negotiated by the Whig party, for the uſe of the Emperor, to encourage him to refuſe co-operating with the Tory adminiſtration in making the peace of Utrecht.

On the proſecution of Walpole for high breach of truſt and corruption, Pulteney warmly vindicated his friend; and on his commitment to the Tower, was amongſt thoſe who paid frequent viſits to the priſoner, whom he, with the reſt of the Whigs, conſidered as a martyr to their cauſe*. He alſo engaged with Walpole in defending the Whig adminiſtration, and wrote the ironical dedication to the earl of Oxford, prefixed to Walpole's account of the parliament, which I have before taken notice of.

Soon

* Pulteney's Anſwer.

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Soon after the death of queen Anne, and before a meſſage had been received from George the Firſt, Pulteney, in anſwer to thoſe who oppoſed the clauſe moved by Horace Walpole, for giving £. 100,000 for apprehending the Pretender ſhould he land, or attempt to land, in any of the king's dominions, obſerved, "That the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, as long as there was a popiſh Pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad; that the late queen was ſenſible of that danger, when ſhe iſſued her proclamation againſt him; and that the caſe was not altered by her demiſe: that the nation would be at no charge if the Pretender did not attempt to land, and if he did, £. 100,000 would be well beſtowed to apprehend him *."

Chapter 39. 1731.

His parliamentary abilities, and uniformity of conduct gave him a very honourable claim to diſtinction on the acceſſion of George the Firſt. Accordingly, on the king's arrival, and before a meeting of the new parliament, he was appointed privy counſellor and ſecretary at war, even in oppoſition to the inclination of the duke of Marlborough, who, as commander in chief, thought himſelf entitled to recommend to that poſt †. He was choſen a member of the committee of ſecrecy, nominated by the houſe of commons to examine and report the ſubſtance of the papers relating to the negotiation for peace; and on the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland, he moved for the impeachment of lord Widrington,

Appointed ſecretary at war.

* Tindal, vol. 18. p. 298.

† Letter to Pulteney, p. 29.

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Widrington, and oppoſed the motion to addreſs the king, for a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all who were in arms in Scotland, who ſhould lay their arms down within a certain time.

He was at this period ſo much connected with Stanhope and Walpole, that in alluſion to the triple alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland, which was then negotiating by general Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate, they were called the three *grand allies*; and a proverbial ſaying was current "are you come into the triple alliance?" *

Reſigns.

But when Stanhope and Walpole took different ſides, on the ſchiſm between the Whigs, when Townſhend was diſmiſſed, and Walpole reſigned, Pulteney followed his friends example, and gave up his place of ſecretary at war.

Origin of his diſagreement with Walpole.

When Walpole made a reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, and negotiated with Sunderland to form a new adminiſtration, in which he and lord Townſhend bore the moſt conſpicuous part, then were firſt ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſguſt and diſcontent which afterwards burſt forth.

The cauſes of this unfortunate miſunderſtanding, may be traced from the authority of the parties themſelves, or their particular friends. Pulteney was offended becauſe Walpole had negotiated with the prince of Wales and Sunderland, without communicating the progreſs to him, although he had told it to Mr. Edgecumbe, who

* Memoirs of the Life and Conduct of William Pulteney, eſq; p. 17.

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who indiscreetly gave an account daily to Pulteney * Chapter 39. 1731.

Another cause of disgust was, that Pulteney, who had hitherto invariably proved his attachment to Townshend and Walpole, expected to receive some important employment, whereas he was only offered a peerage, and when he declined it, more than two years elapsed before any farther overtures were made; and though Pulteney at length solicited † and obtained the office of cofferer Made cofferer of the household

* The account of this transaction is thus given by Pulteney himself, several years afterwards, when he was in the height of opposition. "You sent to him one day, as he was going out of town, desiring to speak with him, that, when he came, you told him of the reconciliation between the late k— and the then p— of W——; and that a bargain was made for those *Whigs*, who had resigned their employments, to be put in again by degrees. To this the gentleman replied, '*Who pray is it, that hath had authority to make this bargain?*' Your answer was, '*I have done it with the* ministry, *and it was insisted on that nobody but lord Townshend should know of the transaction. Neither lord* Cowper, *the* Speaker, *nor any one else knew it; and therefore we hope you will not take it amiss, that it was kept secret from you.*'—'*Not I,*' said the gentleman, '*but I think it very odd, that any one should presume to take a plenary authority upon himself, to deal for such numbers as were concerned, in an affair of this consequence.*'—'*We have not,*' *said you again,* '*had our own interests alone in view. We have bargained for all our friends, and in due time they will be provided for. I am to be,* said you, *at the head of the treasury. Lord* Sunderland *had a great desire to retain the disposition of the* secret service money *to himself; but I would by no means consent to that, knowing the chief power of a* minister (and I presume his *profit* also) *depends on the disposition of it.*' You named several others, who were to come into employments; *and* said to *this gentleman,* '*We know, Sir, that you do not value any thing of that kind; so we have obtained a* peerage *for you.*' It seems you did not, at that time, pretend that the *gentleman* either *expected, or insisted on any employment*; and therefore told him, that the king had consented to make him a *peer*. To this the *gentleman* replied with some warmth, '*Sir, if ever I should be mean enough to submit to being* sold, *I promise you that you shall never have the* selling *of me. A* peerage *is what, some time or other, I may be glad of accepting, for the sake of my family; but I will never obtain it by any base method, or submit to have it got for me on such terms by you.*" ‡

† Pulteney's Answer.

‡ An Answer to one Part of a late infamous Libel, intituled "Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his Two honourable Patrons," p. 54, 55.

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cofferer of the houſhold, in the room of the earl of Godolphin, who received a penſion of £. 5,000 per annum to make way for him, he deemed that place far below his juſt expectations.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe ſecret cauſes of diſguſt, Pulteney continued to ſupport the adminiſtration. On the communication of the plot in which biſhop Atterbury was involved, he moved for an addreſs to congratulate the king on the diſcovery of ſo dangerous and unnatural a confederacy. He was chairman of the committee appointed by the houſe of commons in the proſecution; and the report which he drew up on that occaſion, is a maſter-piece of perſpicuity and order. But the diſdainful manner in which he conceived he had been treated by Walpole, had made too deep an impreſſion on his mind to be eradicated. Finding that he did not poſſeſs the full confidence of adminiſtration, or diſapproving thoſe meaſures which tended, in his opinion, to raiſe the power of France on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria, and which in his opinion ſacrificed the intereſts of Great Britain to thoſe of Hanover, topics on which he afterwards expatiated with great energy and unuſual eloquence in parliament, he became more and more eſtranged from his former friends, and expreſſed his diſapprobation of their meaſures both in public and private. At length, his diſcontent arrived to ſo great a height, that he declared his reſolution of attacking the miniſter in parliament.

Chairman of the ſecret committee.

Joins oppoſition.

Walpole

Walpole perceived his error in diſguſting ſo able an aſſociate, and with a view to prevent his oppoſition to the payment of the king's debts, hinted to him in the houſe of commons, that at the removal of either of the ſecretaries of ſtate, the miniſters deſigned him for the vacant employment. To this propoſal Pulteney made no anſwer, but bowed and ſmiled, to let him know he underſtood his meaning *. Chapter 39. 1731. Walpole attempts to conciliate him.

Pulteney now came forward as the great oppoſer of government, and his firſt exertion on the ſide of the minority, was on the ſubject of the civil liſt. A meſſage being delivered from the king, by Sir Robert Walpole, praying the commons to aſſiſt him in diſcharging the debts of the civil liſt, Pulteney moved for an addreſs, that an account ſhould be laid before the houſe, of all the monies paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of March, 1725. This addreſs being voted, a motion was made for the houſe to go into a grand committee, to conſider of the king's meſſage; but Mr. Pulteney repreſented, "The houſe having ordered an addreſs for ſeveral papers relating to the civil liſt, and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the conſideration of the meſſage, till thoſe papers were laid before the houſe; it being natural to inquire into the cauſes of a diſeaſe, before remedies are applied." This being oppoſed by Walpole, Pulteney replied, "He wondered how ſo great a debt could be contracted in three years time; April 8th, 1725. April 9th.

* Pulteney's Anſwer, p. 52.

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time; but was not ſurpriſed ſome perſons were ſo eager to have the deficiencies of the civil liſt made good, ſince they and their friends had ſo great a ſhare in it; and deſired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?" To this it was anſwered in general, "There was indeed a heavy debt on the civil liſt, and a great many penſions; but moſt of theſe had been granted in king William and queen Anne's reign; ſome by king Charles the Second, and very few by his preſent majeſty. Since the civil liſt was firſt ſettled for his majeſty, an expence of above £. 90,000 per annum had happened, which could not then be foreſeen, and therefore was left unprovided for. Upon examination of the account of the civil liſt debts, it would appear, that moſt of thoſe expences were either for the neceſſary ſupport of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the public good. There was indeed a penſion of £. 5,000 of another nature, upon the account of the cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided, for both lord Godolphin, who was in that office, and his father, had ſo well deſerved of the government, that they could not handſomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a penſion of £. 5,000 to make room for the worthy gentleman who now enjoys the poſt." *

Pulteney oppoſed the motion in every ſtep, until the third reading, when he voted for the payment

* Tindal, vol. 19. p. 524, 525.

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payment of the king's debts; and he himſelf thus accounts for his conduct in this particular: "The *late king* had of himſelf, or as he was adviſed by his *miniſters*, frequently tried *the gentleman* on this point, and uſed to perſuade him to be for it. He uſed all the arguments he could; urged to him all the motives he thought could poſſibly engage him, but all to no purpoſe. He continued inflexible. At length, the *king* ſaid to him, *it is hard you will not let me be an honeſt man.* What would you, contiued his majeſty, *think yourſelf of one, who refuſed to pay his butcher, his baker, ana other honeſt tradeſmen?*—To this the *gentleman* replied, not a little affected with his majeſty's laſt argument, *God forbid that he ſhould prevent his majeſty from acting ſuch an honeſt part.* It was not his intention. *What he meant to do was conſiſtent with his duty as a* ſervant to his majeſty, *and agreeable to his duty as a* repreſentative of the people. *He meant only to expoſe that unneceſſary profuſion which had been made* in ſecret ſervice money, penſions, &c. *That the money which ſhould have paid his* honeſt tradeſmen, *was by theſe means divertea.* His view therefore was to get a cenſure of *ſuch practices*, and to prevent their becoming *precedents*; nor had he any deſign of depriving the *honeſt creditors* of their juſt debts; and this was the reaſon, when he came to the laſt inſtance, why *this gentleman* voted for the queſtion; which his majeſty underſtood very well to be agreeable to the promiſe he had made, however myſterious it might appear to others, and which the gentleman was fully

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fully perſuaded to be juſt in itſelf, and conſiſtent with his duty as *a ſervant to the crown* *.

Diſmiſſed.

He was ſoon afterwards diſmiſſed from his place of cofferer of the houſhold, and from this period entered a ſyſtematic oppoſition to the miniſter. Pulteney proved himſelf ſo formidable, that Walpole again endeavoured to gain him over, and about the time of Townſhend's reſignation, queen Caroline † offered him a peerage, together with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, if he would again join his old coadjutor; but Pulteney rejected the offer, and declared his fixed reſolution never again to act with Sir Robert Walpole.

Refuſes to be ſecretary of ſtate.

The moſt violent altercations paſſed in the houſe of commons between them; their heat againſt each other ſeemed to increaſe in proportion with their former intimacy, and neither was deficient in ſarcaſtic alluſions, violent accuſations, and virulent invectives.

On the ninth of February, 1726, Pulteney, made a plauſible motion for the appointment of a committee to ſtate the public debts, as they ſtood on the 25th of December, 1714, with the debts which had been incurred ſince that time, till the 25th December 1725, diſtinguiſhing how much of the ſaid debts had been provided for, and how much remained unprovided for by parliament. He was ſeconded by Daniel Pulteney, and ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyl. In oppoſition, Walpole

* Anſwer to the Remarks on the Craftſman's Vindication of his Two honourable Patrons, p. 52, 53.

† From the earl of Orford. Life of biſhop Newton.

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pole endeavoured to shew, that such an inquiry was unreasonable and preposterous, and that it might give a dangerous wound to public credit at this critical juncture, when monied men were already too much alarmed by the appearances of an approaching war, urging, that in the present posture of affairs, the commons could not better express their love to their country, than by making good their promises and assurances, at the beginning of this session, and by raising, with the greatest dispatch, the necessary supplies, to enable the king to make good his engagements, for the welfare of his subjects, to disappoint the hopes of the enemies to his government, and to repel any insults that might be offered to his crown and dignity. Barnard, member for the city of London, confirmed the assertion of the minister, as to the danger of increasing the alarm of monied men, which had already so much affected public credit, that the stocks had within a few weeks fallen 12 or 14 per cent. Sir Thomas Pengelly having spoken for the motion, Walpole again replied; on which Pulteney declared, "He made this motion with no other view, than to give that *great man* an opportunity to shew his integrity to the whole world, which would finish his sublime character." To this Walpole answered, "This compliment would have come out with a better grace, and appeared more sincere, when that fine gentleman had himself a share in the management of the public money, than now he was out of

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place.* Such petulant altercations between these two able ſpeakers, cauſed much diſſatisfaction to thoſe independent members who wiſhed well to the Hanover line, and who generally ſupported or oppoſed all queſtions from conviction, without being influenced by party motives. This oppoſition of Pulteney was ſo apparently dictated by perſonal reſentment, that ſeveral who would otherwiſe have conſidered the motion juſt and reaſonable, voted againſt it. Many deemed it ill-timed, and calculated to hurt public credit, and to draw an odium on the houſe of commons, and accordingly ſupported the miniſter; for theſe reaſons the motion was negatived by 262 againſt 89. †

Pulteney now placed himſelf at the head of the diſcontented Whigs. In conjunction with Bolingbroke, his ancient antagoniſt, he became the principal ſupporter of the Craftſman, to which paper he gave many eſſays, and furniſhed hints and obſervations.

Courted by foreign powers.

At this period, Pulteney was greatly courted by the foreign miniſters of thoſe powers who were diſpleaſed with the meaſures of the Britiſh cabinet, and by none more than by Palm, the Imperial embaſſador, who caballed with oppoſition and endeavoured to overturn the miniſtry. ‡

The

* Chandler.

† Thomas Brodrick to lord chancellor Midleton, February 10, 1726. Midleton Papers. Journals.

‡ Letter from Palm to the Emperor, December 17, 1726. Correſpondence.

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Chapter 39. 1731. Controverſy in 1731.

The controverſy in 1731, which paſſed between Pulteney and Walpole's friends and pamphleteers, widened the breach, and rendered it irreparable. The Craftſman was full of invectives againſt Walpole, and the meaſures of his adminiſtration. In anſwer to this paper, a pamphlet was publiſhed under the title of Sedition and Defamation Diſplayed; in a letter to the author of the Craftſman, with a motto from Juvenal,

Ande aliquid brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignum,
Si vis eſſe aliquis.——

It contained a violent, and, according to the ſpirit of the political pamphlets of the times, a ſcurrilous abuſe of Pulteney and Bolingbroke. The character of Pulteney is pourtrayed in the colours of party, in a dedication to the patrons of the Craftſman; and his oppoſition is wholly attributed to diſappointed ambition and perſonal pique. In anſwer to this pamphlet, which he ſuppoſed to be written by lord Hervey, the great friend and ſupporter of Sir Robert Walpole, he wrote, "*A proper Reply to a late ſcurrilous Libel, intituled Sedition and Defamation Diſplayed, in a Letter to the Author; by Caleb D'Anvers, of Gray's Inn, Eſq.*"

In this pamphlet, Mr. Pulteney introduces the character of Sir Robert Walpole, which it muſt be confeſſed does not yield, either in ſcurrility or miſrepreſentation, to that of Pulteney, given in Sedition and Defamation Diſplayed.

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In this publication, the author treated lord Hervey * with ſuch contempt, and laſhed him with

* John lord Hervey, eldeſt ſon of John the firſt earl of Briſtol, was born in 1696. He came firſt into parliament ſoon after the acceſſion of George the Firſt; was appointed vice-chamberlain to the king in 1730; in 1733 was created a peer; and in 1740 was conſtituted lord privy ſeal, from which poſt he was removed in 1742. He died in 1743. He took a conſiderable ſhare in the political tranſactions of the times, and was always a warm advocate on the ſide of Sir Robert Walpole. Tindal † has obſerved, "that hiſtory ought to repair the injury that party has done to ſome part of his character," and in fact, it is neceſſary; for never was man more expoſed to ridicule, and laſhed with greater ſeverity, than lord Hervey has been expoſed and laſhed by the ſatirical pen of Pope. If we may credit the ſatiriſt, who has delineated his character under the name of Sporus, he was below all contempt; a man without talents, and without one ſolitary virtue to compenſate for the moſt ridiculous foibles, and the moſt abandoned profligacy,

"Let Sporus tremble.—A. What that thing of ſilk,
"Sporus, that mere white curd of aſſes milk?
"Satire or ſenſe, alas! can Sporus feel?
"Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?
"P. Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
"This painted child of dirt, that ſtinks and ſings, &c.
"Eternal ſmiles his emptineſs betray,
"As ſhallow ſtreams run dimpling all the way.
"Whether in florid impotence he ſpeaks,
"And, as the prompter breathes, the puppet ſqueaks;
"Or at the ear of Eve, familiar toad,
"Half froth, half venom, ſpits himſelf abroad, &c.
"Amphibious thing! that acting either part,
"The trifling head, or the corrupted heart,
"Fop at the toilet, flatt'rer at the board,
"Now trips a lady, and now ſtruts a lord.
"Eve's tempter thus the Rabbins have expreſt,
"A cherub's face, a reptile all the reſt,
"Beauty that ſhocks you, parts that none will truſt,
"Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the duſt."

However I may admire the powers of the ſatiriſt, I never could read this paſſage without diſguſt and horror; diſguſt at the indelicacy of the alluſions, horror at the malignity of the poet, in laying the foundation of his abuſe on the loweſt ſpecies of ſatire, perſonal invective, and what is ſtill worſe, on ſickneſs and debility. The poet has ſo much diſtorted this portrait, that he has in one inſtance made the object of his ſatire, what ought to have been the ſubject of his praiſe, the rigid abſtinence to which lord Hervey unalterably adhered, from the

† Vol. 20. p. 83.

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with such ridicule, in allusion to his effeminate appearance, as a species of half-man and half-woman,

the necessity of preserving his health. Lord Hervey having felt some attacks of the epilepsy, entered upon, and persisted in a very strict regimen, and thus stopt the progress, and prevented the effects of that dreadful disease. His daily food was a small quantity of asses milk, and a flour biscuit; once a week he indulged himself with eating an apple: he used emetics daily. To this rigid abstemiousness, Pope malignantly alludes, when he says,

"The mere white curd of asses milk."

In short, I agree with the ingenious editor of Pope, "Language cannot afford more glowing or more forcible terms to express the utmost bitterness of contempt. We think we are here reading Milton against Salmasius. The raillery is carried to the very verge of *railing*, some will say *ribaldry*. He has armed his muse with a scalping knife."

May we not ask, with the same author, "Can this be the nobleman whom Midleton, in his dedication to the History of the Life of Tully, has so seriously, and so earnestly praised, for his strong good sense, his consummate politeness, his real patriotism, his rigid temperance, his thorough knowledge and defence of the laws of his country, his accurate skill in history, his unexampled and unremitted diligence in literary pursuits, who added credit to this very history, as Scipio and Lælius did to that of Polibius, by revising and correcting it, and brightening it, (as he expresses it) by the strokes of his pencil?" May we not also ask, Is this the nobleman who wrote some of the best political pamphlets which appeared in defence of Walpole's administration? who, though sometimes too florid and pompous, was a frequent and able speaker in parliament, and who, for his political abilities, was raised to the post of lord privy seal? In truth, lord Hervey possessed more than ordinary abilities, and much classical erudition; he was remarkable for his wit, and the number and appositeness of his repartees.

Although his manner and figure were at first acquaintance highly forbidding, yet he seldom failed to render himself, by his lively conversation, which Pope calls,

"The well whipp'd cream of courtly common sense,"

an entertaining companion to those whom he wished to conciliate. Hence he conquered the extreme prejudice which the king had conceived against him, and from being detested, he became a great favourite. He was particularly agreeable to queen Caroline; as he helped to enliven the uniformity of a court, with sprightly repartees and lively sallies of wit.

His cool and manly conduct in the duel with Pulteney, proved neither want of spirit to resent an injury, or deficiency of courage in the hour of danger, and he compelled his adversary to respect his conduct, though he had satirised his person.

His defects were extreme affectation, bitterness of invective, prodigality of flattery, and great servility to those above him.

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Duel with lord Hervey.

woman, which Pope, in his character of Sporus, has no leſs illiberally adopted, that lord Hervey was highly offended, a duel * enſued, and Pulteney ſlightly wounded his antagoniſt. It afterwards appeared that lord Hervey did not compoſe this pamphlet; and Pulteney acknowledged his miſtake, and imputed it, without ſufficient authority, to Walpole himſelf. †

As one great ſource of obloquy vented by the miniſterial writers againſt Pulteney, was his junction with Bolingbroke, who, when driven from his country, had eſpouſed the party of the Pretender, a letter by Bolingbroke appeared in the Craftſman of May 22, 1731, with the fictitious name of Old-caſtle, which, after heaping many charges on the miniſter, drew the characters of Pulteney and Bolingbroke in a moſt favourable light, and vindicated them from the imputations of the writers on the ſide of government.

This letter produced an anſwer, intituled, "*Remarks on the Craftſman's Vindication of his Two Honourable Patrons, in his Paper of May* 22, 1731.

Par nobile fratrum;

In which the two characters commended by the Craftſman, were attacked with increaſing aſperity, and

Horace, earl of Orford, has given a liſt of his political writings, in the catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors; and among the Orford Papers, are draughts of ſeveral of thoſe pamphlets which were ſubmitted to Sir Robert Walpole. Some are corrected by him, in others, the miniſter made conſiderable additions. See Warton's Pope, vol. 4. p. 44, 45, 46. Opinions of Sarah ducheſs of Marlborough, Article, lord Hervey.

* An Account of the duel is given in a letter from Thomas Pelham to earl Waldegrave, January 28, 1731. Correſpondence, Period V.

† It was written by Sir William Yonge, ſecretary at war, as he himſelf informed the late lord Hardwicke.

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and Pulteney was loaded with the moſt virulent perſonal abuſe, by ranſacking his private life, prying into his domeſtic concerns and family tranſactions, by accuſing him of acting ſolely from diſappointment and revenge, of being governed by veteran Jacobites, of diſreſpect to the king, ingratitude to the miniſter, of ſharing the bounties, and adding to the penſions of the crown, and of having obtained the fee-ſimple of £.9,000 per annum, by the favour, indulgence, and aſſiſtance of the miniſter, whom he had ſworn to deſtroy. * Perhaps he would have acted a more prudent and dignified part, in not making any reply to the invective of a party pamphlet; but, as he conceived it to have been written, or at leaſt the materials to have been furniſhed by the miniſter, his indignation was rouſed, and he publiſhed an animated defence of himſelf and his own conduct, a work to which I have frequently alluded, as containing much curious information on the origin and progreſs of the quarrel between him and Walpole. It is ſtyled, *An anſwer to One Part of a late infamous Libel, intituled,* " *Remarks on the Craftſman's Vindication of his Two Honourable Patrons;*" *in which the character and conduct of Mr. P. is fully vindicated.* Addreſſing it to Sir Robert Walpole, he ſays of the pamphlet in which he had been ſo indecently abuſed, " There are ſeveral " paſſages of *ſecret* hiſtory in it, falſely ſtated and " miſrepreſented, which could come from nobody " but yourſelf. You might, perhaps, employ " ſome

Chapter 39. 1731.

* P. 37.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. "some of your mercenaries to work them up for "you; but the ingredients are certainly your "own."

In the courſe of the defence, Mr. Pulteney gives us his account of the converſation about making him ſecretary of ſtate, which he accuſes Walpole of having diſcloſed, and miſrepreſented. And as Walpole had thrown out to him the bait of the ſecretaryſhip, to prevent, if poſſible, his oppoſing the payment of the king's debts, the ſecret hiſtory of that tranſaction, as far a Pulteney was concerned, is laid before the public. Having gone through that part of his defence, he proceeds, "Since now we are upon the heads of *ſecret hiſtory, which you have opened*, I muſt explain another point in this gentleman's defence, concerning the reconciliation between his late majeſty and the preſent king, from whence it will appear, whether you or this gentleman was moſt greedy of employments, and who diſcovered the trueſt zeal for the honour of his preſent majeſty."* That part of his ſecret converſation which related to George the Second, then prince of Wales, is here ſubjoined.

"*But pray, Sir* (continued the *gentleman) ſince you acquaint me with the terms you have made for me, what are thoſe you have made for the* P—, *who hath acted ſo honourable and ſteady a part to thoſe with whom he engaged, and who are now in oppoſition to the court?* To this you anſwered with a ſneer, *Why He is to go to court again, and he will have*

* Anſwer to an infamous Libel, p. 53.

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have his DRUMS *and his* GUARDS, *and ſuch* FINE THINGS. At this the *gentleman* was aſtoniſhed, and thought proper to preſs you a little further, by aſking you, *whether the* P— *was to be left regent again, as he had been when the king went out of England?*——*No*, ſaid you, WHY SHOULD HE? *What!* replied the *gentleman*, *have you ſtipulated for a ſhare of royalty for* yourſelf, *on the king's departure, and is the* P— *to live like a* private ſubject, *of no conſequence in the kingdom?*—The *gentleman* avers upon his *honour*, that your anſwer was this: HE DOES NOT DESERVE IT.—WE HAVE DONE TOO MUCH FOR HIM; AND IF IT WAS TO BE DONE AGAIN, WE WOULD NOT DO SO MUCH.—Upon this, the *gentleman* went directly to the P— (with whom he then had ſome credit) and humbly repreſented upon what terms the reconciliation was founded. He told him that he was ſold to his *father's miniſters*, by *perſons* who conſidered nothing but *themſelves* and their own intereſt, and were in haſte to make their fortunes. This was thought by him to have had ſome weight, at that time, with the P—, though the gentleman did not think it proper to tell him the whole that had paſſed, and relate what you ſaid of him in ſo ungrateful a manner."*

Struck out of the liſt of privy counſellors.

The diſcloſure of this ſecret converſation, and of the contemptuous expreſſions which Walpole is ſaid to have uttered againſt the king, when prince of Wales, inſtead of irritating him againſt the miniſter, only raiſed his reſentment higher againſt

* Anſwer to an infamous Libel, p. 55, 56.

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againſt Pulteney. Franklin, the printer of the pamphlet, was arreſted; Pulteney's name was ſtruck out of the liſt of privy counſellor's, and he was put out of all commiſſions of the peace,* meaſures which tendered to render the breach irreparable. Such was indeed the bitterneſs of party, and the animoſity againſt the miniſter, that Pulteney does not heſitate to declare, that "the oppoſition had come to a determined reſolution, not to liſten to any treaty whatſoever, or from whomſoever it may come, in *which the firſt and principal condition ſhould not be to deliver him up to the juſtice of the country.*" †

When ſuch virulent invectives paſſed on both ſides, it was hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe that any compromiſe could be effected. Pulteney continued invariably to oppoſe the meaſures of Walpole, and was principally inſtrumental in driving him from the helm of affairs. But although in the zeal of party, and in the warmth of debate, theſe two great men reviled each other with ſo much acrimony, yet even in the houſe of commons, they frequently entered into converſation on the moſt amicable terms; and as Pulteney always, though in oppoſition, ſat on the treaſury bench, theſe opportunities were very frequent. Dr. Pearce, biſhop of Rocheſter, has recorded an anecdote of their eaſy manner of converſing, which reflects high honour on both parties.

"Mr. Pulteney ſitting upon the ſame bench with Sir Robert Walpole in the houſe of commons,

* Tindal, v. 20. p. 104.

† Mr. Pulteney's Anſwer, p. 47.

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mons, ſaid, " Sir Robert, I have a favour to aſk of you." O my good friend Pulteney, ſaid Sir Robert, what favour can you have to aſk of me? It is, ſaid Mr. Pulteney, that Dr. Pearce may not ſuffer in his preferment for being my friend. I promiſe you, returned Sir Robert, that he ſhall not. Why then I hope, ſaid Mr. Pulteney, that you will give him the deanery of Wells. No, replied Sir Robert, I cannot promiſe you that for him, for it is already promiſed." Chapter 39. 1731.

Sir Robert having afterwards obtained for him the deanery of Wincheſter, his friend Mr. Pulteney, congratulating him on his promotion, ſaid to him, " Dr. Pearce, though you may think that others beſides Sir Robert have contributed to get you that dignity, yet you may depend upon it, that he is all in all, and that you owe it entirely to his good-will towards you; and therefore, as I am now ſo engaged in oppoſition to him, it may happen, that ſome who are of *our* party may, if there ſhould be any oppoſition for members of parliament at Wincheſter, prevail upon me to act there in aſſiſtance of ſome friend of our's; and Sir Robert, at the ſame time, may aſk your aſſiſtance in the election for a friend of his own, againſt one whom we recommend. I tell you, therefore, beforehand, that if you comply with my requeſt, rather than Sir Robert's, to whom you are ſo much obliged, I ſhall have the worſe opinion of you. Could any thing be more generous

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generous to the dean as a friend, or to Sir Robert, to whom in other reſpects he was a declared opponent?" *

CHAPTER THE FORTIETH:

1733.

Walpole propoſes to take Half a Million from the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the current Year.—Encroachments from its firſt Eſtabliſhment to this Motion.—Oppoſition to the Bill.—Subſtance of the Reaſons on both Sides.—It paſſes the Houſe.—Subſequent Encroachments.—Beneficial Conſequences which would have been derived from appropriating the Produce to the Liquidation of the Debt.—Ill Conſequences of alienating it.—Motives which induced the Miniſter to take that Method of raiſing Supplies.

THE laſt accounts which I had occaſion to give of the parliamentary proceedings and domeſtic events, were carried down only to May 1730. The hopes of a diviſion amongſt the Whigs, and of the miniſters, gave energy to the leaders of oppoſition; but the ill ſucceſs of their exertions, and the uninterrupted proſperity of the country, during the two ſucceeding years, render the domeſtic hiſtory barren of events, and afford little worthy of mention in the life of the miniſter. But the ſixth ſeſſion of the third ſeptennial parliament, which opened on the 17th of January 1733, is diſtinguiſhed by two meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole; of which the firſt, to take half a million from the ſinking fund, though contrary to the national intereſt, was carried by a large majority; and the ſecond, which was the exciſe

* Life of Pearce.

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excise scheme, though evidently calculated for the advantage of the country, met with such violent opposition, as induced the minister to relinquish it. Chapter 40. 1733.

This chapter will be confined to the discussion of the important question concerning the alienation of the sinking fund; a measure which has incurred the bitter censure of most writers who have speculated on the subject of finance, and which seems to be the greatest blot in the administration of the minister. In this disquisition, I shall endeavour to state, the deviations from, and encroachments on the sinking fund, until it was finally perverted from its original use, and instead of being employed in the liquidation of the national debt, became a fund for the current service of the year; to shew the beneficial consequences which would have resulted from following the original design; and to consider the motives which induced the minister to counteract his own great establishment, and to entail a debt on the nation, which, if it could not have been entirely paid off, might at least have been considerably diminished.

Origin of the sinking fund.

When the house of commons passed an act for the establishment of a fund for applying the surpluses of duties and revenues to the liquidation of the national debt, called in subsequent acts the sinking fund, the words to appropriate them to that purpose were as strong as could be found, *to and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.*

During

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During the whole reign of George the First it was invariably appropriated to its original purpoſes, and rather than encroach upon it, money was borrowed upon new taxes, when the ſupplies in general might have been raiſed, by dedicating the ſurpluſſes of the old taxes to the current ſervices of the year. * Even in the infancy of the eſtabliſhment, when its operations were neceſſarily very confined, great advantages were derived even from this ſmall ſurplus; the national intereſt was immediately reduced from 6 to 5 per cent.; £.750,000 in old exchequer bills were paid off in 1719; and it appeared, by the report of the houſe of commons, that from 1717 to 1728, it had diſcharged £.2,698,416, and that its average amount was £.1,200,000.

Appropriated to other uſes.

It no ſooner attained this progreſſive power, that its operations were ſuſpended. Between 1727 and 1733, ſeveral encroachments were made, either by alienating the taxes which yielded the ſurpluſſes, or by charging the intereſt of ſeveral loans upon the ſurpluſſes appropriated to the payment of the debt. But although this meaſure was in effect the ſame as depriving it of groſs ſums (there being no difference between taking the annual intereſt of a ſum, and that ſum itſelf) yet as theſe encroachments were not literally direct invaſions of the fund, they ſeem to have met with little oppoſition.

However, in 1733 an open attack was made. Half a million being voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year,

* Price's Appeal on the National Debt. Sinclair, p. 106.

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year, the miniſter propoſed to take that ſum from the ſinking fund, and by that means to continue the land tax at one ſhilling in the pound; adding, that if this motion ſhould be objected to, he ſhould move for a land tax of two ſhillings in the pound, there being no other means of providing for the current expences. Chapter 40. 1733.

This motion juſtly occaſioned a long and violent debate, and the ſtrength of the argument undoubtedly lay on the ſide of oppoſition. The whole ſubſtance of the reaſons, which the miniſter could urge in defence of this violation of his own principles, was the neceſſity of giving eaſe to the landed intereſt, and the dread of the public creditors to have their debts diſcharged. On this occaſion he advanced this remarkable poſition, that the ſituation of the country, and the caſe of the public creditors was altered ſo much ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, that the competion among them was not who ſhould be the firſt, but who ſhould be the laſt to be paid, an aſſertion, which none of the oppoſition ventured to contradict, and therefore may be conſidered as true. He alſo added, that although the ſinking fund was eſtabliſhed for the payment of the debts, yet it was ſtill ſubject to the diſpoſal of parliament; and whenever it appeared, that it could be more properly and beneficially applied to ſome other uſe, the legiſlature had a power, and ought to diſpoſe of it in that manner.

On the other ſide, the oppoſition argued, that the ſacred depoſit for diſcharging the debts and abóliſhing

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abolishing the taxes, ought not to be applied to any use, except in cases of extreme necessity, which were not now apparent; that the assenting to the motion was in fact robbing posterity of £.500,000, and the progressive interest of that sum, for a trifling ease to themselves. They reminded him of his inconsistency, in destroying his own darling project, and undermining the boasted monument of his own glory; and Sir John Barnard emphatically urged, "that the author of such an expedient must expect the curses of posterity."

These arguments, however, did not affect the decision of the house of commons. The influence of the minister, aided by the co-operation of the landed, monied, and popular interests, triumphed over opposition; and the motion was carried by a majority of 110 voices; 245 against 135.

Farther encroachments.

The practice of alienating the sinking fund having been once sanctioned by parliament, was continued without intermission. In 1734 £.1,200,000, or the whole produce of the year, was taken from it; in 1735 and 1736, it was anticipated and mortgaged. "Thus expired," observes Dr. Price, perhaps with more enthusiasm than truth, "after an existence of a few years, the sinking fund; that sacred blessing (as it was once thought) and the nation's only hope. Could it have escaped, it would long before this time have eased Britain of all its debts, and left it safe and happy."

Speculations on the subject.

In regard to the beneficial consequences which must have resulted from the due administration

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of the ſinking fund, many words are not wanting to prove that point. Without eſtimating the advantages as highly as the opponents of the miniſter, or Dr. Price, it may fairly be inferred, from the ſtatement of Walpole himſelf, that had the produce been applied to that purpoſe, from its firſt eſtabliſhment in 1716 to 1739, the year in which the war with Spain commenced, more than 20 millions of the national debt might have been eaſily paid off, whereas only £.7,190,740 were diſcharged. *

The ill conſequences of alienating the ſinking fund are ſo evident, that it is not my intention to juſtify Sir Robert Walpole; on the contrary, he deſerves and has ſufficiently incurred the cenſure of poſterity. But while we blame this conduct in its full latitude, let us not follow the example of thoſe ſpeculative writers, who do not ſufficiently weigh exiſting circumſtances, neglect to conſider the temper of the times and the ſituation of the country, and who judge of the meaſures purſued by government in 1733, from thoſe which have been purſued in ſubſequent times. In juſtice to the

* The oppoſition computed, but on very erroneous calculations, that at Chriſtmas 1733, £.25,000,000 might have been paid off more than had been diſcharged, and Dr. Price obſerves, "Had it, from the year 1732, been allowed to increaſe beyond this (except from the intereſt of debts paid by it.) and been applied for the firſt twenty-five years to the payment of debts, bearing 4 per cent. intereſt, and afterwards to the payment of debts, bearing 3 per cent. it would (in the preſent year 1781) have completed the redemption of more than one hundred and ſixty millions of debt, leaving the public, during this whole period, in poſſeſſion of all the ſurpluſſes which have ariſen in the revenue beyond £.1,212,000, except thoſe produced by redemptions." Price on Annuities, vol. 1. p. 220.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. the memory of a miniſter, who ſeems to have ſacrificed every object for the preſervation of interior tranquillity and external peace, let us conſider the motives which induced him to propoſe the alienation of the ſinking fund, which cannot be better illuſtrated than in the words of a very judicious writer on finance.

" Theſe ſteps of adminiſtration I neither cenſure or approve of. I muſt ſuppoſe every ſtateſman to have good reaſons for doing what he does, unleſs I can diſcover that his motives are bad. May not the landed intereſt, who compoſed the parliament, have inſiſted upon ſuch a diminution of their load; May not the proprietors of the public debts have inſiſted, on their ſide, that no money out of the ſinking ſhould be thrown into their hands, while the bank was making loans upon the land and malt duties at 3 per cent.? Might not the people have been averſe to an augmentation of taxes? When three ſuch conſiderable intereſts concur in a ſcheme, which in its ultimate though diſtant conſequences, muſt end in the notable prejudice of perpetuating the debts, although opportunities offer to diminiſh them, what can government do? They muſt ſubmit; and, which is worſe, they cannot well avow their reaſons.

" Such combinations muſt occur, and frequently too, in every ſtate loaded with debts, where the body of the people, the landlords, and the creditors, find an advantage in the non-payment

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ment of the national debt. It is for this reason, I imagine, the beſt way to obviate the bad conſequences of ſo ſtrong an influence in parliament, would be, to appropriate the amount of all ſinking funds in ſuch a manner, as to put it out of a nation's power to miſapply them, and by this means force them either to retrench their extraordinary expences, or to impoſe taxes for defraying them." * Chapter 40. 1733.

Theſe obſervations are perfectly juſt, and conſonant to the ſpirit and temper of the times; nor did any meaſure of Walpole's adminiſtration more conciliate the favour of the landholders, monied men, and people, than the alienation of the ſinking fund, ſo juſtly deprecated by poſterity, yet ſo much applauded by his contemporaries. Popularity of the meaſure.

For a long period after the acceſſion of George the Firſt, the greater part of the landed intereſt uniformly oppoſed government. With a view to ingratiate the new family with theſe perſons, who formed a large party in the houſe of commons, the miniſter lowered the land tax to three and then to two ſhillings in the pound; this meaſure effectually galled oppoſition, brought over many friends to government; and it was truly ſaid by Henry Pelham, in the houſe of commons, "Gentlemen may talk as they pleaſe of what was done in laſt ſeſſion of parliament; but I can ſay, that in all places were I have ſince been, I have had the pleaſure

* Steuart's Political Œconomy, vol. 2, page 391.

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pleaſure of receiving the thanks of the people, for the eaſe then given to the landed intereſt; and whatever gloſs may now be put upon that affair, yet I know that ſome gentlemen, who appeared againſt it, were heard to ſay at the time that affair was mentioned, it will pleaſe the country too much, and therefore we muſt endeavour to render it abortive. I will, indeed, do the gentlemen the juſtice to believe that they then ſpoke as they thought; and they then did what they could to prevent the ſucceſs of a deſign, by which his majeſty's adminiſtration has gained the favour and the eſteem of the generality of the landholders in England." *

The monied men were no leſs ſatisfied. The miniſter himſelf informs us of their principles: "The ſinking fund" he ſays, "was now grown to a great maturity, produced anually about £. 1,200,000, and became almoſt a terror to all the individual proprietors of the public debts. The high ſtate of credit, the low rate of intereſt, and the advanced price of the ſtocks and funds *above par*, made the great monied companies, and all their peoprietors, apprehend nothing more than being obliged to receive their principals too faſt; and it became almoſt the univerſal conſent of mankind, that a million a year was as much as the creditors of the public could bear to receive, in diſcharge of part of their principal." †

As

* Chandler, vol. 7, p. 295.

† Some Conſiderations on the Public Funds, p. 56.

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As to the people at large, it is always more agreeable to them to defray the current expences by alienating a sinking fund, than by imposing a new tax. Every tax is felt, soon occasions murmurs, and meets with some opposition. In proportion as the taxes are multiplied, two difficulties arise; the people more loudly complain of every new impost, and it becomes more difficult to find out fresh subjects of taxation, or to augment the old levies. But a temporary suspension of the payment of the debt is not felt, and occasions neither murmurs or complaint. To borrow therefore from the sinking fund is always an obvious expedient for raising supplies *, and has never been known to create a national ferment.

The minister must have been more than man, had he preferred the blessings of posterity to the curses of his own age, or sacrificed present ease to the dread of remote evils.

Yet, after making due allowance to the temper of the times, and the situation of parties, the measure itself cannot be justified; the warmest admirers of the minister must allow, that it is a dark speck in his financial administration.

The sagacious mind of Walpole, might have discovered some method of satisfying the public creditors, while he paid them off; he might have conciliated present advantage with the benefit of posterity, combined his own interest with that of the

* Smith, Wealth of Nations, vol. 3. p. 418.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. the people, and by confining himſelf to a partial alienation, have rendered it a temporary, and not a permanent evil. *

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIRST.

1733.

Origin and Progreſs of the Exciſe.—Object of Walpole's Scheme.—Arts of Oppoſition.—Parliamentary Proceedings.—Speech of Walpole.—Bill abandoned.—Views and Conduct of Oppoſition.—Influence of Walpole.—Removals and Promotions.—Prorogation of Parliament.

I AM now arrived at that important period in the life of Sir Robert Walpole, which relates to what is uſually called the EXCISE SCHEME, or in other words, the plan for ſubjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of exciſe; a meaſure which raiſed a great ferment in the nation, becauſe it was perverted by the malignant ſpirit of party, and was not thoroughly underſtood by ſober and impartial perſons; but which reaſon, and the diſintereſted voice of poſterity has ſanctioned and juſtified.

Tucker's Eulogium of the exciſe ſcheme. On this ſubject, a judicious writer †, who well underſtood the principles of commerce, has obſerved, "Without entering into a defence of all parts

* For the hiſtory and alienation of the ſinking fund have been conſulted, An Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domeſtick Affairs from the year 1721 to 1734: Suppoſed to be written by Mr. Pulteney, page 33 to 55. An anſwer to that pamphlet, intitled, Some Conſiderations concerning the Publick Funds, written by Sir Robert Walpole, page 8 to 81. Price on Annuities, vol. 1. p. 185 to 223. Sinclair on the Revenue, vol. 1. p. 99 to 101. Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 3 p. 410. Stuart's Political Œconomy, vol. 2.

† Tucker's Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes, p. 148, a book printed but not publiſhed.

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parts of his conduct, I am perſuaded that impartial poſterity will do him the juſtice to acknowledge; that if ever a ſtateſman deſerved well of the Britiſh nation, Sir Robert Walpole was the man. Indeed, the only true way of diſcovering, whether we are advancing or retreating in our political and commercial capacity, is to compare the paſt with the preſent, and to examine whether we have the ſame quantity of pernicious taxes, and monopolizing patents, as we had formerly. If we have not, it is our buſineſs to be thankful for the deliverance we have received, and to unite our endeavours to be freed from the remainder. This is real patriotiſm and public ſpirit. Chapter 41. 1733.

"One of the great merits of Sir Robert Walpole, and in which perhaps no miniſter ever approached him, was that of ſimplifying the taxes, aboliſhing the numerous petty complicated impoſts which checked commerce and vexed the fair trader, and ſubſtituting in their ſtead more equal and ſimple.

"But to omit matters of leſſer note, the wiſeſt propoſal to relieve the nation was the Exciſe Scheme, by means of which the whole iſland would have been one general FREE PORT, and a *magazine* and *common ſtorehouſe* for all nations.

"It was not indeed a perfect ſcheme at its firſt appearance; but the foundation was good, and a few alterations would have rendered it a moſt uſeful inſtitution for the purpoſes of national commerce. But the buſineſs of thoſe times was not to alter, mend, or improve, but to op-

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poſe, and to raiſe a ferment. But even in its moſt imperfect ſtate it would have defeated the views of monopoliſts, and have proved of great national advantage. If the bill had been ſo worded as to be only *permiſſive* not *compulſory*, every man in this kingdom would have made the exciſe ſcheme his own choice, that is, he would have preferred the method of putting his goods in a warehouſe, and paying the duties as he wanted them, rather than paying the duties all at once at the cuſtom houſe. As a proof of this, let it be obſerved, that the very men who made the loudeſt clamour againſt the exciſe ſcheme, in a a few years petitioned for a much worſe, the preſent law relating to tobacco; which is allowed on all hands to be an exciſe ſcheme in effect, and to have inconveniences, which the exciſe ſcheme had not. But to give ſome ſalvo to the matter, the word *Permit* is changed to that of *Certificate*." *

Either the exciſe ſcheme was not ſuch as it is here explained, or the oppoſition to it was founded on principles of error, miſrepreſentation, and party. Let me then be permitted to conſider by what means the nation in general was induced to give ſuch a decided reſiſtance to the bill, and to make as public and as loud rejoicings when it was reliquiſhed, as upon the moſt glorious national victory ever gained over our enemies in times of the greateſt danger.

In

* Tucker, Theory of Laws, p. 149.

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In attempting to develop theſe cauſes, it may be expedient to trace the hiſtory of the exciſe from its firſt introduction into England, until the opening of Walpole's ſcheme. Chapter 41. 1733.

The firſt attempt to impoſe it was made in 1626, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, iſſued to thirty-three lords and others of the privy council, but the parliament having remonſtrated, it was judged by both houſes contrary to law, and the commiſſion accordingly cancelled by the king. * So odious was the very name, that if we may credit Howel, Sir Dudley Carleton, then ſecretary of ſtate, having only named it in the houſe of commons, with a view to ſhew the happineſs which the people of England enjoyed above other nations, in being exempted from that impoſition, was ſuddenly interrupted, called to the bar, and nearly ſent to the Tower. † Origin and progreſs of the exciſe.

During the civil wars in 1641, parliament ventured to impoſe an exciſe on beer, ale, cyder, and perry; but although they pleaded abſolute neceſſity in excuſe for this expedient, and continued it only from month to month; yet the execution of it raiſed riots in London. The populace burnt down the exciſe houſe in Smithfield, and nothing but a ſtanding army, adds the Craftſman, would have forced it upon the people at that time, when they were greatly diſaffected to the king and favourable to the parliament ‡.

Although Charles the Firſt, in one of his declarations, charged parliament with impoſing in-

ſupport-

* Craftſman, N° 333. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

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ſupportable taxes and odious exciſes upon their fellow ſubjects; yet he was afterwards under the neceſſity of recurring to the ſame expedient. Accordingly, exciſes were laid on by both parties, though both of them declared that they ſhould be continued only till the end of the war, and then aboliſhed.

Soon afterwards the parliament impoſed it on ſugar, butcher's meat, and on ſo many other commodities, that it might juſtly be called general, in purſuance of a plan, laid down by Pymm, in a letter to Sir John Hotham; "That they had proceeded to the exciſe in many particulars, and intended to go farther; but that it would be neceſſary to uſe the people to it by little and little." *

At the reſtoration, the exciſe was aboliſhed on all articles of conſumption, except beer and ale, cyder and perry, which produced a clear revenue, according to Davenant, of £.666,383. Theſe duties were divided into two equal portions; the one called the hereditary exciſe, becauſe granted to the crown for ever, in recompenſe for the court of wards, purveyance, and the levies aboliſhed by act of parliament; the other the temporary exciſe, becauſe granted only for the life of the king.

On the acceſſion of James the Second, parliament not only renewed the temporary exciſe for his life, but alſo increaſed it by additional duties no

* Craftſman, N° 333, 1773. Appendix. Blackſtone, B. 1. C. 8, Clarendon.

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on wines, vinegar, tobacco, and ſugar, which however were ſuffered to expire. Chapter 41, 1733.

The immediate effects of the revolution were to diminiſh the exciſes, ſuppoſed to be of a nature peculiarly obnoxious to the ſpirit and principles of the conſtitution. But the neceſſity of raiſing money to defend our religion and liberties became ſo urgent, that even this ſpecies of impoſition was adopted. Exciſe on ſalt, on the diſtillery, and on malt, ſince known by the name of the malt tax, were then firſt introduced; an additional exciſe on beer produced alone £.450,000, and the ſums raiſed by thoſe duties, during the reign of William, amounted to £.13,649,328, or nearly a million per annum.

But ſo great were the neceſſities which the war on the Spaniſh ſucceſſion intailed on the nation, during the reign of queen Anne, that the averſion to the exciſe did not prevent additional duties on ſeveral articles of conſumption, and it produced in her reign £.20,859,311, or nearly £.1,738,275 per annum.

During the whole reign of George the Firſt, no exciſe was laid on, except a ſmall duty on wrought plate, under the adminiſtration of Sunderland. But the internal tranquillity of the country, and the exemption from foreign war, increaſing the produce of the taxes, the exciſe yielded, in 13 years, £.30,421,451, or about £.2,340,000 per annum. Its unpopularity however was not abated by long uſage, and the laws for the collection were neceſſarily ſo ſevere, and ſo often

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often exerciſed in preventing frauds and puniſhing ſmugglers, that they were conſidered by many perſons as encroaching on private property and perſonal liberty.

Public averſion to the exciſe.

Such were the prejudices conceived againſt the exciſe, that the principal writers on finance, government, and trade, from the revolution to the period under conſideration, almoſt uniformly condemn it; and a plauſible notion prevailed, that as the real income of every country originates from the land, all taxes ſhould be at once impoſed on landed property.*

Even Davenant, who well underſtood the nature of taxes in general, and has ſo ably written on public credit, was deceived in this particular. Becauſe at that time the exciſe had the effect of ſinking the price of the ſubject exciſed inſtead of raiſing the price of the produce†, he concluded that all exciſes fall ultimately upon the land, and propoſed, as more equitable, the poll tax and land tax.

The authority of Locke alſo contributed to ſpread the ſame notion, and his opinion againſt the eſtabliſhment of the exciſe, was quoted with due effect by the Craftſman. That great philoſopher, whoſe writings tended ſo much to expand and enlighten the human mind, had without due conſideration aſſerted, that all impoſitions on articles

* For a refutation of this ſyſtem, ſee Smith's Wealth of Nations. Neckar on Finances, vol. 1, c. 6. Steuart's Political Economy. Sinclair, vol. 2. p. 113.

† The exciſe upon malt had the effect of lowering the price of barley, inſtead of raiſing the value of beer. Steuart's Political Eeconomy, vol. 2. p. 362.

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ticles of conſumption fell ultimately upon land. The natural conſequence therefore of that poſition was, that any additional duties on wine and tobacco could not ultimately eaſe the landholder, and therefore could not fulfil the intention held forth to the country gentlemen, as an argument in favour of the bill. Chapter 41. 1733.

This ſyſtem, though exploded * by a more intelligent age, had a ſurpriſing influence on all ranks and deſcriptions of men at that time, when the principles of commerce and taxation were little underſtood, and leſs followed. The oppoſition laid great ſtreſs on this argument; and in conformity to the exiſting opinion, Sir William Wyndham did not ſcruple to declare it, "as demonſtrable as any propoſition in Euclid, that if we actually paid a land tax of ten ſhillings in the pound, without paying any other exciſes or duties, our liberties would be much more ſecure, and every landed gentleman might live at leaſt in as much plenty, and might make a better proviſion for his

* Sir John Sinclair has, in a few words, ably ſhewn the abſurdity of impoſing all the taxes on land. "Were it admitted, though it can hardly be ſeriouſly maintained in a commercial country, that the whole income of the nation aroſe from the cultivation of the ſoil, yet ſtill, by impoſing duties on conſumptions, a greater revenue may be raiſed, than by a direct tax on land. By the latter method you only tax the proprietor of the ſoil, who has only a certain portion of the produce, and a conſiderable part of which is neceſſarily taken from him for the ſubſiſtence of others. Whereas by the former method, the public ſhares in the profits of thoſe individuals who derive any benefit from the ſoil by any means, whether directly or indirectly. And hence, whilſt the tax of four ſhillings in the pound on land is ſeverely felt by many individuals in England, though it yields only two millions per annum, a tax on barley, in all its various ſtages of conſumption, to the amount of above three millions and a half, is levied without murmur." Sinclair on the Revenue, vol. 2. p. 113.

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his family, than under the preſent mode of taxation."

Walpole's motives for extending it.

On the contrary, the ſagacity of Walpole led him to perceive, that a tax on landed property was a greater burthern to the ſubject than taxes on articles of conſumption. He was fully aware, that the exciſe laws obſtruct the operations of the ſmugglers more effectually than the laws of the cuſtoms; that the method of levying taxes in uſe, was more burthenſome upon trade, and more expenſive to the merchants, than the raiſing of them by exciſe, and that it would be more beneficial to commerce, and would conſiderably increaſe the revenue, if all, or the greater part of the cuſtoms were converted into excifes. But as he well knew the averſion which the nation entertained againſt the exciſe, and as he was unwilling to deviate from his own great principle of government, *not to rouſe things which are at reſt*, he propoſed gradually to introduce his plan by aboliſhing the land tax, and ſubſtituting other methods, until he could venture to come forwards with the propoſal of his great ſcheme for extending the exciſe.

With this view he made an alteration in the duties on coffee, tea, and chocolate, by aboliſhing the import duties, and ſubjecting them to inland duties, and to the ſame mode of collection as is practiſed in the exciſe. But as he ſtill ſuffered them to be levied as cuſtoms, and prudently omitted to mention the word exciſe, this amendment met with no oppoſition, and increaſed

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creaſed the duties on tea, coffee, and chocolate about £. 120,000 a year.* Chapter 41. 1733.

For the ſame purpoſe he propoſed the revival of the ſalt duty, which had been aboliſhed in 1729, becauſe he conceived, that a revival of exciſe duties on commodities formerly ſubjected to that mode of collection, would not be regarded with ſo jealous an eye, as a new impoſt in the ſame line. Revives the ſalt duty.

But though he thus endeavoured to conceal his intended purpoſe, yet the oppoſition penetrated his ſcheme; in the debate which took place on that ſubject, they firſt threw down the gauntlet, and dwelt with unabated energy on the apprehenſions of a general exciſe, as the war whoop to ſpread an alarm throughout the country, and as the death warrant of national liberty. It was then that, provoked by the petulance of his adverſaries, and entertaining too great a contempt of their arguments, with more ſpirit than judgment, and with more attention to the dictates of truth, than to the temper of the times, he anticipated the intended mention of his extenſive views, and laid down the great plan before it was ſufficiently matured, and before the nation was able to conſider and

* The difference between the cuſtoms and exciſe is thus defined by Sir Robert Walpole himſelf. "The duties known by the name of cuſtoms are certain rates impoſed by authority of parliament upon all commodities imported from abroad, which rates are either to be paid by the importer, upon the entry at importation, with different allowances and diſcounts for prompt payment, or they muſt be ſecured by bond, payable in a certain number of months, and, as well as the duties paid down, are repaid and drawn back again upon re-exportation, as the bonds given, vacated and diſcharged; or in ſhort, cuſtoms are duties paid by the merchant, upon *importation*: Exciſes, duties payable by the retail trader upon conſumption." Orford Papers.

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and appreciate its excellence. He unequivocally declared, that the land tax was the moſt unequal, moſt grievous, and the moſt oppreſſive tax ever known in this country; a tax not to be raiſed but in times of the greateſt neceſſity; and in anſwer to thoſe who oppoſed the revival of the ſalt duties, becauſe it was partly levied under the exciſe, he ventured to declare, that an exciſe is only a word for a tax levied in a different manner. He added, "If it be found by experience, that the preſent method of raiſing our taxes is more burthenſome upon our trade, and more inconvenient and expenſive than the exciſe, I ſee no manner of reaſon why we ſhould be frightened by theſe two words, 'general exciſe,' from changing the method of collecting the taxes we now pay, and chooſing that which is moſt convenient for the trading part of the nation."*

This manly avowal of his ſentiments in favour of the exciſe laws, was naturally deemed by oppoſition the prelude to his adoption of them, and magnified into a ſcheme for a general exciſe all the neceſſaries of life.

Aware of having prematurely advanced notions which the age could not comprehend, a pamphlet was publiſhed on this ſubject, under his auſpices, intitled, "*Some general Conſiderations concerning the Alteration and Improvement of the Revenues*;" in which an attempt was made to inform the people, that the ſcheme was founded on the firſt principles of commerce and taxation, and in

* Chandler.

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in no degree derogatory from the liberties of the subject. Chapter 41. 1733.

But in this progreſſive plan he was baffled by oppoſition, who employed againſt him all the powers of wit and eloquence, which they poſſeſſed in ſo abundant a degree; and it muſt be confeſſed the ſcheme was not defended with equal energy and ſpirit. The nation took the alarm; and before the ſcheme was underſtood, even before it was formally propoſed, the writers in oppoſition, more particularly the Craftſman, delineated ſuch a hideous picture of the EXCISE, as raiſed among the people the moſt terrible apprehenſions. Theſe weekly eſſays, collected and publiſhed under the title of "*Arguments againſt Exciſes*," contributed to pervert the judgment, and excite the rage of the deluded multitude. Againſt the united ſhafts of ſophiſtry, wit, and ridicule, adapted to the prejudices and conceptions of the people, the weapons of ſober truth and reaſon had no effect. Efforts of Oppoſition.

The grand object of the bill was to give eaſe to the landed intereſt, by the total abolition of the land tax; to prevent frauds; to decreaſe ſmuggling; to augment the revenue; to ſimplify the taxes, and facilitate the collection of them at the leaſt poſſible expence. Object of the ſcheme.

The great outlines of the plan were, to convert the cuſtoms into duties of exciſe, and to meliorate the laws of the exciſe in ſuch a manner, as to obviate their abuſes or oppreſſions.

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Period V. 1730. to 1734. Such were the object and general outlines of the plan. The ſpecific propoſitions were, to divide the commodities into taxed and not taxed, and to confine the taxed commodities to a few articles of general conſumption. To comprehend among the untaxed commodities, the principal neceſſaries of life, and all the raw materials of manufacture. The free importation of the neceſſaries of life would, by rendering thoſe neceſſaries cheaper, reduce the price of labour. The reduction of the price of labour would diminiſh the price of home manufactures, and increaſe thereby the demand in all foreign markets, by underſelling thoſe of other nations. The free importation of raw materials would reduce the price of manufactures, and the cheapneſs of the goods would ſecure both the home conſumption, and a great command in the foreign markets; and it was this regulation which induced Tucker to ſay, that by means of this ſcheme the whole iſland would become *one general* FREE PORT.

So much for the commodities untaxed. But even the trade of the taxed commodities would be augmented, and both the foreign and home trade would enjoy conſiderable advantages. The foreign trade would be benifited, becauſe the commodities delivered out of the warehouſe for exportation, being exempted from all impoſts, would be perfectly free; and the carrying trade, under theſe regulations, would be highly increaſed. The home trade would be benefited, becauſe the im-

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porter, not being obliged to advance the duty on the commodities delivered for interior conſumption, until he diſpoſed of his goods, would afford to ſell them cheaper, than if he had been obliged to advance the duty at the moment of importation. Chapter 41. 1733.

Such, according to the opinion of a very judicious writer *, was the object of the famous exciſe ſcheme.

Preparatory to its introduction, a committee had been appointed to inſpect into the frauds and abuſes committed in the cuſtoms; and on the 7th of June, 1732, Sir John Cope, the chairman, preſented their report to the houſe. Though it was of infinite importance, and of ſo great length as to compriſe, when printed, 103 pages in folio; yet the committee were ſo ſenſible that they had not fully explored all the receſſes of fraud, and had left great part of their taſk unaccompliſhed, that they accompanied this elaborate document with an apology for its imperfections, in which they obſerved, that the ſhortneſs of the ſeſſion would not allow them to make it ſo complete as they might otherwiſe have done, and that the number and intricacy of the various frauds, rendered a thorough diſquiſition almoſt impracticable. Preparatory proceedings.

In this report they adverted to the frauds committed by traders in tobacco, tea, brandy, and wine, and in the courſe of it diſplayed ſcenes of diſho- Report of the committee.

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 3. p. 358.

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diſhoneſty, perjury, informing, violence, and murder, which would appear to ſanction almoſt any meaſure, however violent, by which ſo horrible a ſtigma could be removed from the mercantile body, and from the fiſcal laws of the country. It was proved by undeniable evidence, that by perjury, forgery, and the moſt impudent colluſion, in the article of tobacco, the revenue was frequently defrauded to the amount of one third of the duties, and that in many caſes, an allowance had been diſhoneſtly obtained, as a drawback on re-exportation, exceeding the ſum originally received by government, which in the port of London only, ſuſtained by theſe means a loſs of £. 100,000 per annum. The ſmuggling of tea and brandy was conducted ſo openly and ſo audaciouſly, that ſince Chriſtmas 1723, a period only of nine years, the number of cuſtom houſe officers beaten and abuſed amounted to 250; and ſix had been murdered. 251,320 pounds weight of tea, and 652,924 gallons of brandy had been ſeized and condemned; and upwards of 2,000 perſons proſecuted. 229 boats and other veſſels had been condemned, 185 of which had been burnt, and the remainder retained for the ſervice of the crown. The ſmuggling of wine was managed with ſo much art, or the connivance of the revenue officers ſo effectually ſecured, that within the period of nine years, only 2,208 hogſheads had been condemned, though it appeared, from depoſitions on oath, that in the ſpace of two years, 4,738 hogſheads had been run in Hampſhire,

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shire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire only, and on inquiry, 30 officers were dismissed, and informations entered against 400 persons; 38 were committed to jail, 118 admitted evidence, and 45 had compounded. Chapter 41. 1733.

Activity of opposition.

Notwithstanding the facts contained in this report, and the endeavours used to enlighten the public mind, the opposition had been so assiduous and successful in the dissemination of slander and suspicion, that they looked forward with impatience to the introduction of the minister's plan, as the certain means of triumph to them, and of disgrace to him: Indeed, considering the nature of the contest, they could hardly be thought too sanguine in their expectations of the event. The members of any administration proposing measures for giving additional strength to government, for restraining the turbulent, or suppressing fraud, are open to every species of calumny, assailable by all the weapons of eloquence, wit, ridicule, personality, and misrepresentation; while in their defence, they are restricted to the use of those topics which make their impression only by force of time and experience. The majesty of argumentative eloquence, and the glare of wit, are undervalued, when eloquence is supposed to be biassed by interest, and wit is divested of personality and caustic satire, which alone can make it pleasing to the multitude.

The writers in the interest of opposition had sounded the trumpet of alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other: they asserted that the minister's plan would not tend to prevent fraud,

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decreaſe ſmuggling, or augment the revenue; but would deſtroy the very being of parliament, undermine the conſtitution, render the king abſolute, and ſubject the houſes, goods, and dealings of the ſubject, to a ſtate inquiſition. They repreſented the exciſe as a monſter feeding on its own vitals; and compared it to the Trojan horſe, which contained an army in its belly.

Having by theſe means agitated the public mind to a frenzy of oppoſition, the enemies of the miniſter were anxious to follow their advantage, and to urge him to bring forward his plan before the people had leiſure for ſober reflection. London, and many places in the country, had given expreſs inſtructions to their repreſentatives, to oppoſe the exciſe ſcheme in all its forms, and to uſe every method to impede its progreſs; and the members were ſo anxious to ſhew that they had not been unmindful of theſe dictates, that they ſeized every opportunity, long before the meaſure was officially announced to the houſe, of adding to the impreſſions of horror already entertained againſt it.

Proceedings in parliament.

On the opening of the ſeſſion, the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, recommended to the houſe, *that in all their deliberations, as well upon raiſing the annual ſupplies, as the diſtribution of the public revenues, they ſhould purſue ſuch meaſures as would moſt conduce to the preſent and future eaſe of their conſtituents.* In another part of his ſpeech, he admoniſhed them *to avoid unreaſonable heats and animoſities, and not ſuffer themſelves to be diverted by any ſpecious*

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ſpecious pretences, from ſteadfaſtly purſuing the true intereſt of the country. Chapter 41. 1733.

On the motion for the addreſs, Sir John Barnard made theſe obſervations. "The honourable "gentleman who moved the addreſs, propoſes for "us to ſay, *That we will raiſe the ſupplies in ſuch "manner as will moſt conduce to the preſent and fu-"ture eaſe of the ſubject.* Now, there ſeems to be "a great jealouſy without doors, as if ſomething "were intended to be done in this ſeſſion of par-"liament, that may be deſtructive to our liber-"ties, and detrimental to our trade: from whence "this jealouſy hath ariſen, I do not know; but "it is certain that there is ſuch a jealouſy among "all ſorts of people, and in all corners of the "nation; and therefore, we ought to take the "firſt opportunity to quiet the minds of the "people, and to aſſure them that they may depend "upon the honour and integrity of the members "of this houſe; and that we will never conſent "to any thing that may have the leaſt appearance "of being deſtructive to their liberties, or detri-"mental to their trade; for which reaſon, I move "that theſe words, *and ſuch as ſhall be conſiſtent "with the trade, intereſt, and liberty of the nation,* "may be added as an amendment."

In ſupport of this amendment, Shippen obſerved, "It is certain that there are great fears, "jealouſies, and ſuſpicions without doors, that "ſomething is to be attempted in this ſeſſion of "parliament, which is generally thought to be "deſtructive to the liberties and to the trade of

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" this nation. There is at preſent a moſt remark-
" able and general ſpirit among the people for
" protecting and defending their liberties and their
" trade, in oppoſition to thoſe attempts which they
" expect are to be made againſt both: from all
" quarters we hear of meetings and reſolutions
" for that purpoſe; and this ſpirit is ſo general,
" that it cannot be aſcribed to any one ſet of
" men: they cannot be branded with the name
" of Jacobites or republicans; no; the whole
" people of England ſeem to be united in this
" ſpirit of jealouſy and oppoſition."

Walpole, in reply, diſclaimed any knowledge of a deſign to injure the trade of the nation, and ſaid, " If the people are hampered or injured in " their trade, they muſt feel it, and they will " feel it before they begin to complain; in ſuch " caſe it is the duty of this houſe, not only to hear " their complaints, but, if poſſible, to find out a " remedy. But the people may be taught to " complain; they may be made to feel imaginary " ills, and by ſuch practices they are often in-" duced to make complaints before they feel any " uneaſineſs." He did not, however, oppoſe the amendment, and it was carried.

This was only a prelude to ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes which took place before the grand attack. In the debate of the 14th of February, on the ſubject of preventing the importation of foreign ſugar, rum, &c. into the plantations in America, Sir John Barnard again obſerved, that " It would be impoſſible to prevent the running " of

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" of French rum on ſhore, even if we were to ſend " to America the whole army of exciſe officers " which we have here at home. The ſending " them thither, might indeed, add a good deal " to our happineſs in this country; but all of " them together could be of no ſervice for ſuch a " purpoſe in that country." Chapter 41. 1733.

In the debate on alienating part of the ſinking fund, a more decided attack was made by Pulteney, who ſaid, " Though I was aware of the mo- " tion now made, I was in hopes that was not all " the honourable gentleman was this day to open " to the committee: There is another thing, a " very terrible affair impending! A monſtrous " project! Yea, more monſtrous than has ever " yet been repreſented! It is ſuch a project as " has ſtruck terror into the minds of moſt gen- " tlemen within this houſe, and into the minds of " all men without doors, who have any regard to " the happineſs or to the conſtitution of their coun- " try. I mean, THAT MONSTER, THE EXCISE! " THAT PLAN OF ARBITRARY POWER, which " is expected to be laid before this houſe in the " preſent ſeſſion of parliament." 23d February.

On the 27th of February, a call of the houſe being moved for on that day fortnight, the exciſe ſcheme was again introduced. Sir John Ruſhout commenced an attack on the miniſter, by ſaying, " I do not riſe to oppoſe the call of " the houſe; but there being, as I imagine, a " certain ſcheme or project to be brought into " the houſe, which ſeems to be of very great con- " ſequence to the whole nation, I wiſh that the " call

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" call of the houſe may be about the time that " that ſcheme is to be laid before us. We have " long been in expectation of ſeeing this glori- " ous ſcheme, which is to render us all completely " happy; we have waited for it with impatience " ever ſince the beginning of the preſent ſeſſion. " I do not know whether the ſcheme itſelf has " lately met with any alterations or amendments; " but I hope, if it be to be laid before us this " ſeſſion, it will not be put off till towards the " end of the ſeſſion, when gentlemen are tired " out with attendance, and obliged to return " home to mind their own private affairs."

Walpole replied, " As to the ſcheme men- " tioned by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke " laſt, it is certain that I have a ſcheme, which I " intend very ſoon to lay before you; I have " not indeed, as yet, fully determined what my " motion ſhall be; but if the motion for the call " of the houſe be appointed for this day fort- " night, I believe I ſhall be fully determined be- " tween this and that time. I do not deſire, I " never did deſire to ſurpriſe this houſe in any " thing; nor had I, thank God, ever any occa- " ſion to uſe the low art of taking advantage of " the end of the ſeſſion for any thing I had to " propoſe; but when the houſe does reſolve it- " ſelf into a committee, which I mean to move " for, I will lay before that committee a ſcheme " which I have long thought of, which I am " convinced is for the good of the nation; and " which, if agreed to, will improve both the trade

" and

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" and the public revenue. As for the ſcheme's Chapter 41.
" having received alterations and amendments, I 1733.
" do not know but it may; I never thought my-
" ſelf ſo wiſe as to ſtand in no need of aſſiſt-
" ance; on the contrary, I have taken from others
" all the advice and aſſiſtance I could obtain;
" and in all my inquiries, I have choſe to con-
" ſult with thoſe who I knew had a perfect know-
" ledge of ſuch affairs, and had no particular in-
" tereſt in view, nor any private end to ſerve:
" from thoſe who have by-ends of their own, I
" can never expect impartial counſel, and there-
" fore I have in this, as well as every other af-
" fair, thought it ridiculous to aſk their advice."
He concluded by obſerving, " That if a project
" could be framed to prevent the frauds com-
" mitted in the revenue, the author of ſuch pro-
" ject would deſerve the thanks of his country,
" and of every fair trader; becauſe, whenever a
" tax is laid on, and not collected regularly and
" duly, from every man ſubject to its operation,
" it is really making the fair trader pay to the
" public what the fraudulent trader puts into
" his own private pocket; by which means the
" ſmuggler underſells the fair trader in every
" commodity, and by which the fair trader muſt
" be at laſt ruined and undone."

Sir William Wyndham followed, and affected to aſſume, as an abſtract ſtatement, that the queſtion was, " Whether we ſhould ſacrifice the con-
" ſtitution to the prevention of frauds in the re-
" venue?" Sir John Barnard ſeized this opportunity

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tunity of making a popular ſpeech, in which he ſaid, "If I have been rightly informed, this "ſcheme, in its firſt conception, was for a *ge-* "*neral exciſe*, but that, it ſeems, was afterwards "thought too much at once, and therefore, we "are now to ſingle out only one or two branches, "in order that they may firſt be hunted down. "But the very ſame reaſon may prevail with us, "to ſubject every branch to thoſe arbitrary laws; "and as ſuch laws are, in my opinion, abſolutely "inconſiſtent with liberty, therefore I muſt think "that the queſtion upon this ſcheme, even al- "tered as it ſeems it is, will be, Whether we "ſhall endeavour to prevent frauds in the col- "lection of the public revenues, at the expence "of the liberties of the people?" "For my own "part," added he, "I never was guilty of any "fraud, and therefore I ſpeak againſt my own "intereſt, when I ſpeak againſt any method that "may tend towards preventing frauds; but I will "never put my private intereſt in balance with "the intereſt or happineſs of the nation. *I had* "*rather beg my bread from door to door, and ſee* "*my country flouriſh, than be the greateſt ſubject* "*in the nation, and ſee the trade of my country de-* "*caying, and the people enſlaved and oppreſſed.*"

In the interval between the debate and the call of the houſe the miniſter was preparing to bring forward his ſcheme in a manner as little exception-able as poſſible, and the oppoſition were exerting all their powers and influence to form a ſtrong party

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againſt it, and to excite the public to clamour for its rejection, whatever might be its merits. Chapter 41. 1733.

On the 7th of March, the miniſter moved, and carried, that on that day ſe'nnight, the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the moſt proper methods for the better ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues already charged upon and payable from tobacco and wines. It was farther ordered, that the proper accounts, returns, and other papers, ſhould be referred to the ſaid committee, and the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and exciſe ſhould attend. Motion for a committee.

On this occaſion, all the arts and influence of oppoſition were called forth to excite clamours againſt the meaſure. Not only the members ſolicited the attendance of their friends, but letters were delivered by the beadles, and other officers in the pariſhes and wards of the city, to induce a numerous party to aſſemble at the doors, and in the avenues to the houſe, to overawe the proceedings of the legiſlature. Walpole was apprized of theſe proceedings, but not to be deterred from the proſecution of his deſign. On the 15th of March, the houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, he opened the buſineſs, and ſaid:

"As * I had the honour to move that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into this committee, I think it incumbent on me to open to you, what Walpole's ſpeech.

was

* The ſubſtance of this ſpeech is principally taken from heads and memorandums, in the hand writing of Sir Robert Walpole, among the Orford Papers. A few connecting ſentences have been ſupplied from the printed ſpeech in the contemporary publications: Political State; Hiſtorical Regiſter. See alſo Chandler.

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was then intended to be propoſed as the ſubject of your conſideration. This committee is appointed for the better ſecurity of the duties and revenues already charged and payable upon tobacco. This can be done in no way ſo proper and effectual, as by preventing the commiſſion of thoſe frauds by which the revenue has already ſuſtained ſuch great injuries. As the propoſed improvement is to be made by an alteration in the method of collecting and managing the duties already impoſed, without any addition, or ſubjecting to the ſame duties any articles not already chargeable, I might have avoided ſtating this project to a committee of the whole houſe; but I have deſerted the old road, and propoſed a ſupply not immediately neceſſary for the current ſervice of the year, that I might leave a greater freedom of conſideration, by taking away every appearance of preſſing neceſſity. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that ſome previous proviſion muſt be made for the future application of the increaſed ſum which, ſhould the plan I am about to propoſe to be adopted, will be received into the exchequer.

" The conteſt, in the preſent inſtance, is between the unfair trader, on one ſide; the fair trader, the planter, and the public, on the other; but to the public muſt be referred my moſt forcible appeal, as they, in truth, bear the whole weight of the injury: for though the fraudulent factor ſeems to make the planter, retailer, and conſumer equally his prey, yet the landed intereſt ultimately

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timately ſuffers the whole effect of the fraud, by making good what the ſubject pays, and the government does not receive. Chapter 41. 1733.

" In ſuch a cauſe, I might reaſonably expect the approbation of the fair trader, and the aſſiſtance of parliament; for aſſuredly, if in theſe times any cauſe can poſſibly be conſidered exempt from the operations of party, it is the cauſe now before the committee. But, Sir, I am not to learn, that whoever attempts to remedy frauds, attempts a thing very diſagreeable to all thoſe who have been guilty of them, or who expect to derive future benefits from them. I know that theſe men, who are conſiderable in their numbers, and clamorous in their exertions, have found abettors in another quarter, in perſons much worſe than themſelves; in men who are fond of improving every opportunity of ſtirring up the people to mutiny and ſedition. But as the ſcheme I have to propoſe, will not only be a great improvement to the revenue, an improvement of two or three hundred thouſand pounds by the year, but alſo great benefit to the fair trader, I ſhall not be deterred, either by calumny or clamour, from doing my duty as a member of this houſe, and bringing forward a meaſure, which my own conſcience juſtifies me in ſaying, will be attended with the moſt important advantages to the revenues and commerce of my country.

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Mente quatit ſolidâ.

" Amongſt

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" Amongſt the many ſlanders to which the report of this project has expoſed me, I cannot avoid mentioning one, which has been circulated with an aſſiduity proportioned to its want of truth, that I was about to propoſe *a general exciſe*. In all plans for the benefit of government, two eſſential points muſt be conſidered, juſtice and practicability: many things are juſt which would not be practicable; but ſuch a ſcheme would be neither one or the other. Various are the faults of miniſters, various their fates: few have had the crimes of all; none till now found that the imputation of crime to him, became a merit in others. Yet if I were to propoſe to you ſuch a ſcheme, popular opinion would run exactly in that channel. It would be a crime in me to propoſe, a crime in you to accept; and the only chance left to the houſe of retaining the favour of the people, would be the unqualified rejection of the project. But *I do moſt unequivocally aſſert, that no ſuch ſcheme ever entered my head, or, for what I know, into the head of any man I am acquainted with.* Yet though I do not wiſh to do wrong, I ſhall always retain a proper ſhare of courage and ſelf-confidence to do what I judge right, and in the meaſures I am about to propoſe, ſhall reſt my claim to ſupport and approbation on the candid, the judicious, and the truly patriotic.

" My thoughts have been confined ſolely to the revenue ariſing from the duties on wine and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I had of the ſhameful frauds committed in theſe two branches,

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branches, and the complaints of the merchants themſelves, that induced me to turn my attention to diſcover a remedy for this growing evil. I am perſuaded, that what I am about to propoſe, will, if granted, be an effectual remedy. But, if gentlemen will be prevailed on by induſtry, artifice, and clamour, to indulge the ſuggeſtions of party prejudice, they and their poſterity muſt pay dear for it, by the grievous entail of a heavy land tax, which they will have ſanctioned by their puſillanimity, in not daring to brave the outrages of the fraudulent and ſelf-intereſted. For myſelf, I ſhall only ſay, I have ſo little partiality for this ſcheme, except what a real and conſtitutional love of the public inſpires, that if I fail in this propoſal, it will be the laſt attempt of the kind I ſhall ever make, and I believe, a miniſter will not ſoon be found hardy enough to brave, on the behalf of the people, and without the ſlighteſt motive of intereſt, the worſt effects of popular deluſion and popular injuſtice. Chapter 41. 1733.

" I ſhall for the preſent, confine myſelf entirely to the tobacco trade, and to the frauds practiſed in that branch of the revenue. If there is one ſubject of taxation more obvious than another, more immediately within the direct aim of fiſcal impoſition than another, it is ſuch an article of luxury as depends for its uſe on cuſtom or caprice, and is by no means eſſential to the ſupport of real comfort of human life. If there is a ſubject of taxation where it is more immediately the province of the legiſlature to ſuppreſs fraud, and ſtrictly to inſiſt on the payment of every impoſt, it muſt be that where the wrong

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is felt by every claſs of perſons, and none are benefited, except the moſt diſhoneſt and profligate part of the community. Both theſe deſcriptions apply to the ſubject before us. For though the uſe of tobacco is perhaps leſs ſanctioned by natural reaſon than any other luxury, yet ſo great is the predilection for it, in its various forms, that from the palace to the hovel there is no exemption from the duty; and ſurely it muſt be conſidered an intolerable grievance, that by the frauds which are daily committed, the very pooreſt of the peaſantry are obliged to pay this duty twice: once in the enhanced price of the article; for though the fraudulent trader contrives to ſave to himſelf the amount of the tax impoſed by parliament, yet he does not ſell it cheaper to the public; and a ſecond time, in the tax that is neceſſarily ſubſtituted to make good the deficiency which has been by theſe means occaſioned. Did it ever happen till now, that when an abuſe of this kind was to be remedied, endeavours were uſed to make the attempt unpopular?

"In diſcuſſing this ſubject, it will be neceſſary firſt to advert to the condition of our planters of tobacco in America. If they are to be believed, they are reduced to the utmoſt extremity, even almoſt to a ſtate of deſpair, by the many frauds that have been committed in that trade, and by the ill uſage they have ſuſtained from their factors and correſpondents in England, who from being their ſervants, are become their tyrants. Theſe unfortunate people have ſent home many repreſentations

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ſentations of the bad ſtate of their affairs; they have lately deputed a gentleman with a remonſtrance, ſetting forth their grievances, and praying for ſome ſpeedy relief: this they may obtain by means of the ſcheme I intend now to propoſe; but I believe it is from that alone they can expect any relief.

" The next thing to be conſidered is, the ſtate of the tobacco trade with reſpect to the fair trader. The man who deals honourably with the public, as well as individuals, the man who honeſtly pays all his duties, finds himſelf foreſtalled in almoſt every market within the iſland, by the ſmuggler and fraudulent dealer. As to our foreign trade in tobacco, thoſe who have no regard to honour, to religion, or to the welfare of the country, but are every day contriving ways and means for cheating the public by perjuries and falſe entries, are the greateſt gainers; and it will always be ſo, unleſs we can contrive ſome method of putting it out of their power to carry on ſuch frauds for the future.

" We ought to conſider the great loſs ſuſtained by the public, by means of the frauds committed in the tobacco trade, and the addition that muſt certainly be made to the revenue, if thoſe frauds can be prevented in future. By this addition, parliament will acquire the means of exerciſing one of its moſt enviable privileges, that of diminiſhing the burthens of the country, the power of doing which will thus be preſented to them in various forms. If it ſhould be the pre-

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vailing opinion, that the discharge of the national debt should be accelerated, this increase offers an abundant resource. If the idea should prevail, that those taxes ought to be alleviated which fall heaviest on our manufacturers and the labouring poor, as soap and candles, this increase will replace the difference. Or if it should be judged that more immediate attention ought to be paid to the current service, the fund may be reserved for that use: and it is manifestly unjust and impolitic, that the national debt should be continued, and the payment postponed; or that the heavy duties on our manufactures should remain, which are justly paid, and without fraud; or that ways and means for the current service should be annually imposed, if the present revenues will answer all or any of these purposes. This, I am convinced, will be the effect of the scheme I am to propose, and whoever views it in its proper light, must see the planters, the fair traders, and the public, ranged on one side in support of it; and none but the unfair traders and tobacco factors on the other.

"I am aware that the evidence to be adduced in proof of the existence of the frauds I am about to enumerate, is not such as would be sufficient to induce a court of justice to pronounce the guilt of those to whom they may be imputed. But as I do not undertake the task of inculpation, if I make out such a case to the committee, as will enable them to decide on the existence of the crime, they will not hesitate to apply the remedy.

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medy. They will conſider the deficiency of ſtrict legal proof, as a motive for their interference, rather than their forbearance; more particularly when they reflect, that if perſons are with difficulty induced to give teſtimony in ſuch a caſe as this, where the good of the country only is to be purſued, without injury to any one, they will be ſtill leſs eaſily brought forward to give ſuch information as will tend to the ruin of others. In this caſe it is hardly too much to ſay, that gentlemen ſhould learn from the example of thoſe intereſted, how to conduct themſelves: they have, with an alacrity and unbluſhing eagerneſs which proves, which confeſſes their guilt, haſtily inferred the moſt violent intentions in the friends of government; they have aſſumed facts, and inferred intentions, without the ſmalleſt data on which to found their preſumptions. I aſk no more than this: if I ſucceed in making it appear that groſs frauds are daily practiſed, and the revenue injured in a moſt daring and profligate manner; that the propoſed remedy, ſhould it appear adequate and applicable, may be reſorted to, without ſubjecting me to the neceſſity of procuring that which is, in fact, unattainable, ſuch preciſe proof as would ſatisfy the adminiſtrators of the laws in the diſpoſal of property, or deciding on guilt. Such evidence, and ſuch facts as I have been able to collect, it is my duty to lay before you; and it is your duty to ſupport me, unleſs my plan appears totally void of reaſon and juſtice."

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The miniſter then proceeded to give ſuch preliminary ſtatements and calculations, as were neceſſary to render his plans intelligible, to make the abuſes obvious, and to demonſtrate the propriety and neceſſity of reform. From theſe ſtatements it appeared, that the exiſting duties on tobacco amounted to ſixpence and one-third of a penny on every pound. The diſcounts, allowances, and drawbacks, were a total drawback on re-exportation; ten per cent. on prompt payment; and fifteen per cent. on bonded duties. The groſs produce of the tax, at a medium, £. 754,131. 4s. 7d. the nett produce only £. 161,000.

Having made theſe ſtatements with the utmoſt exactneſs and perſpicuity, he proceeded:

"I ſhall now point out as clearly as I can, and as amply as my knowledge will enable me, the principal frauds and moſt glaring inſtances of diſhoneſty, which occaſion this amazing diſproportion. And firſt I ſhall mention one, which ſeems alone capable of diverting from its proper channel the amount of any tax. I mean that of uſing light weights inwards, and heavy weights outwards, of paying by the firſt, and taking the drawback by the laſt, and charging the planter, and taking commiſſion by the whole. This evil is farther enhanced by negligence; for it is cuſtomary to weigh a few hogſheads only, and if they anſwer, the whole paſs according to the numbers in the cocket.

"A par-

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" A particular inſtance of this fraud came lately to our knowledge by mere accident: one Mitford, who had been a conſiderable tobacco merchant in the city, happened to fail, at a time when he owed a large ſum of money on bond to the crown. An extent was immediately iſſued againſt him, and government obtained poſſeſſion of all his books, by which the fraud was diſcovered. For it appeared, as may be ſeen by one of his books, which I have in my hand, that upon the column where the falſe quantities which had been entered at the importation were marked, he had, by a colluſion with the officer, got a ſlip of paper ſo artfully paſted down, that it could not be diſcovered, and upon this ſlip of paper were written the real quantities which were entered, becauſe he was obliged to produce the ſame book when that tobacco was entered for exportation. But upon exportation, the tobacco was entered and weighed according to the quantities marked on this ſlip of paper, by which he ſecured a drawback, or his bonds returned, to near double the value of what he had actually paid duty for upon importation. Yet this Mitford was as honeſt a man, and as fair a trader, as any in the city of London. I deſire not to be miſunderſtood; I mean, that before he failed, before theſe frauds came to be diſcovered, he was always reckoned as honeſt a man, and as fair a trader, as any in the city of London, or in any other part of the nation." Chapter 41. 1733.

After enumerating ſeveral other inſtances where

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" The next fraud to which I ſhall direct your attention, is that of receiving the drawback on tobacco for exportation, and relanding it. The effects of this practice are too obvious to require elucidation, and it has been carried to ſuch an extent, that a great number of ſhips were employed at Guernſey, Jerſey, and the Iſle of Man, in receiving and relanding ſuch tobacco. Nor was the evil confined to theſe ports; a very intelligent gentleman, Mr. Howel, who reſided many years in Flanders, has frequently obſerved ſeveral quantities

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quantities of tobacco imported into Oſtend and Dunkirk, and there repacked in bales of one hundred pounds each, and put on board veſſels which waited there to reland it in England or Ireland. About twelve months ago, nine Britiſh veſſels were employed in taking cargoes for this purpoſe at Dunkirk. Chapter 41. 1733.

"The third fraud to which I ſhall direct the attention of the committee, is that of receiving the whole drawback for a commodity of almoſt no value, namely, the ſtalks of the tobacco, which it is uſual, after the leaf has been ſtripped off, to preſs flat and cut, and by mixing this offal with ſand and duſt, impoſe on the revenue officers, and obtain the ſame drawback as for an equal weight of the entire plant. This miſerable ſtuff, when the fraudulent purpoſe has once been anſwered, is either thrown into the ſea, or relanded and ſold at three farthings a pound, with an allowance of 1,010 pounds weight in five hogſheads.

"The fourth fraud I ſhall advert to, is one of very great conſequence, known by the name of *ſocking*, which is a cant term for pilfering and ſtealing tobacco from ſhips in the river. This iniquitous practice, which was diſcovered in 1728 and 1729, was chiefly carried on by watermen, lightermen, tide-waiters, and city porters, called gangs-men: the commodity ſo pilferred was depoſited in houſes from London Bridge to Woolwich, and afterwards ſold, frequently to eminent merchants. Five hundred examinations have been taken

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taken on the ſubject, from which it appears, that, in the ſpace of one year, fifty tons were ſocked on board ſhips and on the quays. Sixteen tons were ſeized, but that quantity was reckoned an inconſiderable part of the whole. In conſequence of theſe informations, 150 officers were diſmiſſed, nine were convicted, of whom ſix are ordered for tranſportation, three to be whipt: theſe proſecutions were all carried on at the expence of government; and it is not a little remarkable, when we recollect the profeſſions of patriotiſm, virtue, and diſintereſtedneſs, which are now ſo copiouſly poured forth, that not a ſingle merchant, though the facts were ſo notorious and ſhameful, aſſiſted the ſtate, either by information or pecuniary exertion, to ſuppreſs the fraud, or bring the delinquents to puniſhment.

"The laſt grievance I ſhall mention, cannot ſo properly be denominated a fraud, as an abuſe ariſing from the nature of the duties paid, and the manner of paying them; I mean the advantage afforded to the merchant of trading with the public money, or making government pay more than they receive. Bonds are given for eighteen months, three years are allowed for the exportation of the article, and new importations diſcharge old bonds. The loſſes which reſult to government from the failure of the obligors in theſe bonds, is immenſe; beſides the ungracious taſk to which it ſubjects them of ſuing the ſureties, who had no intereſt in the contract. The rich trader has another advantage; he avoids giving bonds, by paying the amount

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amount of his duties in ready money, for which he is allowed a diſcount of ten per cent. Now it is very common, and not out of the line of fair trade, for a merchant to pay this duty, receive the diſcount, and by immediately entering the ſame commodity for exportation, gain an advantage (I will not ſay defraud the revenue) of ten per cent. without loſs, riſque, or expenditure. Chapter 42. 1733.

" The frauds which I have here enumerated are, I apprehend, ſufficiently proved to ſatisfy the committee of their exiſtence, and their enormity is obvious enough to demand active interference. The only remedy I can deviſe, is that of altering the manner of collecting the duties. Frauds become practicable by having but one check at importation, and one at exportation; if there is but one ſentinel at a garriſon, and he ſleeps, or is corrupted, the caſtle is taken; but if there are more than one, it is in vain to corrupt the firſt, without extending the ſame influence to thoſe who remain; and when difficulties are ſo multiplied, the project becomes hazardous and uncertain, and is abandoned.

" If the grievance then is admitted, it only remains to mention the remedy, and to conſider whether it is effectual, or whether it is worſe than the diſeaſe.

" The laws of the cuſtoms are manifeſtly inſufficient to prevent the frauds which already exiſt; I therefore propoſe to add the laws of exciſe; and by means of both, it is probable, I may ſay

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ſay certain, that all ſuch frauds will be prevented in future.

" I have already ſtated to the committee, that the ſeveral impoſts on tobacco amount to ſix pence and one third of a penny per pound, all of which muſt be paid down in ready money upon importation, with the allowance of ten per cent. upon prompt payment; or there muſt be bonds given, with ſufficient ſureties, for payment, which is often a great loſs to the public, and always a great inconvenience to the merchant importer. Whereas, by what I ſhall propoſe, the whole duty will amount to no more than four pence three farthings per pound, and will not be paid till the tobacco is ſold for home conſumption; ſo that if the merchant exports his tobacco, he will be quite free from all payment of duty, or giving ſecurity; he will have nothing to do but re-load his tobacco for exportation, without being at the trouble of attending to have his bonds cancelled, or taking out debentures for the drawbacks: all which, I conceive, muſt be a great eaſe to the fair trader; and to every ſuch trader the prevention of frauds muſt be a great advantage, becauſe it will put all the tobacco traders in Britain on the ſame footing, which is but juſt and equitable, and what ought, if poſſible, to be accompliſhed.

" Now, in order to make this eaſe effectual to the fair trader, and to contribute to his advantage, by preventing, as much as poſſible, all frauds for the future, I propoſe, as I have ſaid, to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms, and to leave

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leave the one penny, or rather three farthings per pound, called the farther ſubſidy, to be ſtill charged at the cuſtom houſe, upon the importation of tobacco, which three farthings ſhall be payable to his majeſty's civil liſt as heretofore; and I propoſe for the future, that all tobacco, after being weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, and charged with the ſaid three farthings per pound, ſhall be lodged in a warehouſe or warehouſes, to be appointed by the commiſſioners of exciſe for that purpoſe, of which warehouſe the merchant importer ſhall have one lock and key, and the warehouſe-keeper to be appointed by the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have another, that the tobacco may lie ſafe in that warehouſe, till the merchant finds a market for it, either for exportation or home conſumption: if his market be for exportation, he may apply to his warehouſe-keeper, and take out as much for that purpoſe as he has occaſion for, which, when weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, ſhall be diſcharged of the three farthings per pound with which it was charged upon importation, ſo that the merchant may then export it without any farther trouble. But if his market be for home conſumption, he ſhall pay the three farthings charged upon it at the cuſtom-houſe upon importation, and then, upon calling his warehouſe-keeper, he may deliver it to the buyer, on paying an inland duty of four pence per pound, to the proper officer appointed to receive the ſame. Chapter 41. 1733.

"And whereas all penalties and forfeitures to become due by the laws now in being, for regulating

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. lating the collection of the duties on tobacco, or at leaſt all that part of them which is not given to informers, now belong to the crown, I now propoſe that all ſuch penalties and forfeitures, in ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhall for the future belong to the public, and be applicable to the ſame uſes to which the ſaid duties ſhall be made applicable by parliament; and for that purpoſe I have the king's commands to acquaint the houſe, that he, out of his great regard for the public good, with pleaſure conſents that they ſhall be ſo applied; which is a condeſcenſion in his majeſty, that I hope every gentleman in this houſe is fully ſenſible of, and will freely acknowledge.

"Having thus explained my ſcheme to the committee, I ſhall briefly touch on the advantages to be derived from, and anticipate ſome of the objections which may probably be made to it.

"Firſt then, turning duties upon importation into duties on conſumption, is manifeſtly a great benefit to the merchant importer. The paying down of duties, or bonding, are heavy burthens. The payment of duties requires a treble ſtock to what would elſe be requiſite in trade; and the aſking ſecurities, beſides numerous other inconveniences, ſubjects the merchant to the neceſſity of returning the favour. It hardly requires to be mentioned, that it is a very great accommodation to be obliged to provide for the payment of one

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penny only, instead of six pence and one third of a penny. Chapter 41. 1733.

" The next benefit is the great abatement on the whole duty. The inland duty being four pence per pound, and the remaining subsidy three farthings, gives an abatement of, 10 per cent. and of 15 per cent. upon the whole: whereas, the 25 per cent. is at present given only on the money paid down, which is not a fifth of the whole, and but 15 per cent. allowed on the four fifths which is bonded. Thus a duty of five pence farthing is paid on four fifths of the tobacco, and four pence three farthings on the other fifth; while by the plan I propose, no more than four pence three farthings will be paid on the whole. It is easy to calculate how great the advantage must be to the planter and fair trader from this arrangement, which demands so small an advance, exempts them from all the inconveniences of finding sureties, and requires no payment of any consequence, till the moment when a purchaser presents himself to refund the cost.

" If it should be objected against this project, that it makes the tobacco trade a ready money business, which it cannot bear; I answer, that it may be so or not, as the parties themselves may chuse to arrange it; for if the merchant gives the consumer credit, as he now does, for the duties as well as the commodity, the objection ceases to have any weight.

" The great advantage to the public will be this, that no duty being paid on tobacco designed for

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for exportation, an immediate ſtop will be put to the fraud on drawbacks, and to moſt of the diſgraceful efforts of diſhoneſty, which I have previouſly enumerated. This fact does not require to be verified by an experiment; it is ſufficiently proved by the ſucceſs and facility which attend the collection of the malt duty.

" I come now to the main point, and which alone can admit of debate; the grand objection of making the dealers in tobacco ſubject to the laws of exciſe. I am aware, that on this ſubject I have arguments or rather aſſertions to encounter, which are of great import in ſound, though of very little in ſenſe. Thoſe who deal in theſe general declamations ſtigmatize the ſcheme in the moſt unqualified manner, as tending to reduce thoſe ſubjected to it to a ſtate of ſlavery. This is an aſſertion, the fallacy of which can only be determined by compariſon. There are already ten or twelve articles of conſumption ſubjected to the exciſe laws; the revenue derived from them amounts to about £.3,200,000 per annum, which is appropriated to particular purpoſes. A great number of perſons are, of courſe, involved in the operation of theſe laws: yet, till the preſent moment, when ſo inconſiderable an addition is propoſed, not a word has been uttered about the dreadful hardſhips to be apprehended from them. Theſe clamours of intereſted and diſaffected perſons are beſt anſwered by the contented taciturnity of thoſe in whoſe behalf their arguments, if of any force, ought to operate. Are the brewers and

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and maltſters ſlaves, or do they reckon themſelves ſo? Are they not as free in elections, to elect or be elected, as any others? or let any gentleman preſent ſay, if he ever met with any oppoſition from, or by means of an exciſeman? Chapter 41. 1733.

"I quit this general topic to advert to more particular and ſpecific objections: The chief of them are, houſes liable to be ſearched; the being ſubject to the determination of commiſſioners without appeal, who are neceſſarily creatures of the crown; the number of exciſe officers; the injury the ſubject will ſuſtain in being tried without a jury; and the particular intereſt of the crown in this alteration.

"To all theſe objections one general obſervation will apply; that if for theſe reaſons this ſcheme is to be relinquiſhed, the whole ſyſtem of exciſe laws ought to be abandoned. But I ſhall examine them one by one. I begin with the laſt, the moſt cruel and unjuſt, becauſe it tends to ſet up an improper diſtinction, and draw a ſtrong line of oppoſition between the intereſts of the crown and the intereſts of the people; that is to ſay, between the eſtate and particular property of the crown, and the eſtate and particular property of the public: this naturally leads to a general conſideration of the public revenues.

"The revenues may be computed at £.6,700,000 per annum. The public has of this, as its particular intereſt and property, about £.5,900,000 per annum, namely, the appropriated funds and

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annual ſupplies. The proportion remaining to the crown, £.800,000, is not an eighth part of the whole. And here, in order to obviate a general miſrepreſentation, it is neceſſary to ſtate, that the civil liſt revenues, in five years, from Midſummer 1727 to Midſummer 1732, have fallen ſhort of the ſum they are ſuppoſed to produce by upwards of £.26,000 a year on the average. Happy indeed would be the ſtate of the country, if the appropriated duties would anſwer all the proper engagements, and leave a ſurplus ſufficient for the current ſervice! But if that great object is not attainable, it is ſurely well worth the attention of parliament to provide for a moiety, or even a fourth part of the current ſervice. The appropriated duties were funds for paying the intereſt of the national debt. There had been deficiencies in ſeveral, but now a ſupply is made; a ſinking fund for gradually diſcharging the principal. A million per annum has for ſeveral years been applied, and that, by the public creditors, is now thought more than ſufficient.

"If under the preſent management, the duties produce much leſs than ought to be paid to the public, has the public a right to make the moſt of their own revenues, or are they alone excluded from doing themſelves juſtice? To object againſt the improvement of the king's part, is to ſay, that the public had better be defrauded of ſeven parts in eight, than that juſtice ſhould be done to the crown in the eighth. If manifeſt frauds were diſcovered in a branch belonging entirely to the civil liſt,

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liſt, the poſt office for example, would you rather ſanction the wrong than do juſtice to the crown? Why then this unreaſonable jealouſy in the preſent inſtance? I call the jealouſy unreaſonable, becauſe in this propoſition all poſſible care has been taken to avoid the imputation of being deſigned for the benefit of the crown. The penny which goes to the civil liſt is left to be paid at the cuſtom-houſe. All increaſe from the inland duty is not to go to the crown, but to the public. All fines, forfeitures, and penalties ariſing from the inland duties, are renounced by the crown, and appropriated to the public. In a word, the crown will have no intereſt in the inland duty, but as truſtee for the public.

" This fact, duly conſidered, anſwers the great objection to the determination of commiſſioners. For granting, for a moment, that commiſſioners are to be ſuppoſed corrupt, venal, and creatures of the crown, what influence can their regard for the crown have on them, to induce them to oppreſs the people, when the crown has no intereſt in their determination? But though this anſwer might reaſonably be deemed ſatisfactory and ſufficient, yet to obviate even ſpeculative objections, a remedy is ſupplied for this ſuppoſed grievance, by inveſting three of the twelve judges with a power of determining, in a ſummary way, all appeals brought before them within the bills of mortality; and in the country, the ſame power is to be veſted in one of the judges of the aſſize going the next circuit. This renders it impoſſible that

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the intereſt of the ſubject can be ſacrificed to undue influence on the one hand, or the revenue to private ſolicitation, perſonal friendſhip, or regard on the other. While ſuch a tribunal preſents itſelf, no offender would chuſe to be carried into Weſtminſter hall, rather than have his cauſe judged in a ſummary way. The benefit of a trial by jury would not induce a man to encounter the tedious, vexatious, and expenſive proceedings in a court of law, more burthenſome than the penalties and forfeitures in diſpute. As far as my own obſervation enables me to judge on the preſent ſyſtem, where the commiſſioners have, in moſt caſes, a power to determine themſelves, or to bring informations, I have found that moſt people, againſt whom informations have been laid, have been deſirous that their cauſes ſhould be determined by commiſſioners; but I never yet heard of one who was willing to take his cauſe out of the hands of the commiſſioners to have it tried in Weſtminſter hall. One reaſon which contributes to render the exerciſe of power by the commiſſioners more popular is, that they poſſeſs the privilege of mitigation, which is not entruſted to the judges, who are merely adminiſtrators of the law according to the letter.

" The next objection is the increaſe of revenue officers, which fear, intereſt, and affectation have magnified into a ſtanding army. This ſtanding army, allowing the propoſed addition to extend to tobacco and wine, will not, according to the eſtimate of the commiſſioners, exceed *one hundred and twenty-*

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twenty-six persons; that number, in addition to those already employed, will do all the duty. In this computation, warehouse-keepers are of course not included, their number must be uncertain, for the satisfaction and accommodation of the merchants: Few houses, however, out of London, will be subject to the excise laws which are not so already. Chapter 41. 1733.

"The only remaining objection is, the power of officers to enter and search houses. This objection could not possibly have any weight, without the aid of gross misconception, or misrepresentation. All warehouses, cellars, shops, and rooms used for keeping, manufacturing, or selling tobacco, are to be entered at the inland office. These are to be always liable to the inspection of the officer, and it is to be made penal to keep or conceal tobacco in any room or place not entered. But no other part of the house is liable to be searched without a warrant and a constable, which warrant is not to be granted without any affidavit of the cause of suspicion. The practice of the customs is now stronger; they can enter with a writ of assistance without any affidavit. But why all this solicitude in the behalf of fraud? If the powers given by either, or both the systems of revenue law are not sufficient (as I am informed they are not in the case of tea) it is an argument to add more checks, but no argument against the application of this.

"The regulation in these two commodities, can affect neither trade, the poor, or the manu-

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facturer. The poor are not at all concerned in the queſtion of tobacco, as the retailer now ſells all tobacco at the rate of duty paid. The manufacturer is concerned as little, for the ſame reaſon, and neither one or the other drinks any wine. The landed intereſt cannot be affected by it in conſequence of an advanced charge on the poor and the manufacturer. The whole clamour then is in favour of the retailer or tradeſman, and even he cannot ſuffer, unleſs guilty of frauds. "This is the ſcheme which has been repreſented in ſo dreadful and terrible a light; this is the monſter, the many-headed monſter, which was to devour the people, and commit ſuch ravages over the whole nation. How juſtly it has been repreſented in ſuch a light, I ſhall leave to this committee and to the world without doors to judge. I have ſaid, and will repeat it, that whatever apprehenſions and terrors people may have been brought under from a falſe and malicious repreſentation of what they neither did, or could know or underſtand, I am fully perſuaded, that when they have duly conſidered the ſcheme I have now the honour to open to you, they will view it in another light; and that if it has the good fortune to meet the approbation of parliament, and comes to take effect, the people will ſoon feel the happy conſequences of it; and when they experience theſe good effects, they will no longer look on thoſe perſons as their friends, who have ſo groſsly impoſed on their underſtandings.

"I look

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"I look upon it as a moſt innocent ſcheme; it can be hurtful to none but ſmugglers and unfair traders. I am certain it will be of great benefit to the revenue, and will tend to make LONDON A FREE PORT, AND BY CONSEQUENCE, THE MARKET OF THE WORLD. If I had thought otherwiſe of it I would never have ventured to propoſe it in this place." Chapter 41. 1733.

He then concluded, by moving a repeal of the ſubſidy and additional duty on tobacco, amounting in the whole to five pence and one third of a penny in the pound weight.

The members of oppoſition were not ſilenced or diſmayed by the ample and candid manner in which the miniſter opened and explained his ſcheme, and pointed out its benefits. Though he had anticipated many of their objections, and ſhewn their futility, yet they brought them forward with as much confidence and perſeverance as if they had been perfectly juſt and entirely new. The debate was long and animated; the miniſter was principally ſupported by Mr. Yorke, then attorney general, and afterwards earl of Hardwicke, and Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls. The principal orators of oppoſition were alderman Perry, Sir Paul Methuen, Sir John Barnard, Heathcote, Pulteney, and Sir William Wyndham, who peculiarly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion.

Their efforts were generally directed to countenance the popular clamours, which they themſelves had excited: they recurred to all the inflammatory topics drawn from the introduction of Arguments of oppoſition.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. a ſtanding army of exciſemen, giving arbitrary power to the crown, and enſlaving the ſubject. They depreciated the propoſed ſcheme, by affecting to demonſtrate, that when the manner of committing a fraud was diſcovered, the farther perpetration of it became impracticable. Alderman Perry, in the name of the merchants of London, offered to anſwer for all the bonds outſtanding, in conſideration of a diſcount of £. 20,000, but he took care to except all thoſe which were deſperate, and made no calculation of their probable amount. Sir John Barnard called in the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, who were obviouſly intereſted to prevent the completion of the exciſe ſcheme, and aſked them what they thought the frauds in the tobacco trade might amount to, one year with another? They anſwered, they had never made any computation; but one of them ſaid that he had, as matter of private curioſity, calculated on the ſubject, and thought it might amount to thirty or forty thouſand pounds a year. Sir John then enquired; Whether it was their opinion, that if the officers of the cuſtoms did their duty diligently and faithfully, it would effectually prevent all or moſt of the frauds in the tobacco trade? This was, of courſe, anſwered in the affirmative. On the baſis of this looſe unauthenticated information, and hardy aſſertion, the oppoſition reviled the ſcheme with the moſt unqualified abuſe, and unſparing ridicule.

Pulteney ſaid, "The honourable gentleman was pleaſed to dwell on the generoſity of the

8 crown

crown in giving up the fines, forfeitures, and seizures to the public; but in my opinion, it will be a poor equivalent for the many oppressions and exactions which the people will be exposed to by this scheme. I must say, that the honourable gentleman has been, of late, mighty bountiful and liberal in his offers to the public. He has been so gracious to ask us, Will you have a land tax of two shillings in the pound? A land tax of one shilling in the pound? Or will you have no land tax at all? Will you have your debts paid? Will you have them soon paid? Tell me but what you want, let me but know how you can be made easy, and it shall be done for you. These are most generous offers; but there is something so very extraordinary, so farcical in them, that, really, I can hardly mention them without laughing: It puts me in mind of the story of Sir Epicure Mammon in the Alchymist. He was gulled of his money by fine promises; he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which he was to get mountains of gold, and every thing else he could desire; but all ended at last in *some little thing for curing the itch.*"

Chapter 41. 1733.

Sir William Wyndham made a most able and vehement speech, in which he alluded to *Empson*, and *Dudley*, who, to gratify the avarice of their master, drained the purses of the subjects, not by new taxes, but by a severe and rigorous execution of the laws that had been enacted. "But what was their fate? They had the misfortune to out-live their master; and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off

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off both their heads." "There never was a ſcheme," he added, "which encountered ſo much diſlike and diſſatisfaction from the people in general; the whole nation has already ſo openly declared their averſion, that I am ſurpriſed to ſee it inſiſted on; the very propoſing of ſuch a ſcheme in the houſe of commons, after ſo many remonſtrances againſt it, I muſt think moſt audacious; it is, in a manner, flying in the face of the whole people of England."

Walpole's reply.

In reply to theſe obſervations, the miniſter ſaid, that much of the matter thrown out by the ſpeakers on the other ſide was foreign to the debate: that the ancient hiſtorians, not only of this but other countries, had been ranſacked to find parallel caſes of wicked miniſters, and make affected applications. "Of late years (he ſaid) I have dwelt but little in the ſtudy of hiſtory, but I have a very good prompter behind me," (meaning the attorney general) "and by his means I can recollect, that the caſe of *Empſom* and *Dudley* was ſo different from any thing that can poſſibly be preſumed from the caſe now before us, that I wonder how it was poſſible to bring them into the debate. Thoſe men had, by virtue of old and obſolete laws, unjuſtly extorted great ſums of money from people, under pretence that they had become liable to penalties for the breach of ſtatutes, which had for many years fallen into diſuſe. I muſt ſay (and I hope moſt of thoſe who hear me will think) that it is very unjuſt to draw any parallel between their characters and mine. If my character

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character is, or ſhould ever come to be, in any reſpect, like their's, I ſhall deſerve their fate. But while I know myſelf innocent, I ſhall depend upon the protection of the laws of my country; as long as they can protect me I am ſafe; and if that protection ſhould fail, I am prepared to ſubmit to the worſt that can happen. I know that my political and miniſterial life has by ſome gentlemen been long wiſhed at an end, but they may aſk their own diſappointed hearts, how vain their wiſhes have been; and as for my natural life, I have lived long enough to learn to be eaſy about parting with it." Chapter 41. 1733.

He then adverted to the artifices which had been uſed to exaſperate the people, whom he compared to puppets, which perſons behind the curtain played, and obliged to ſay whatever they pleaſed. He expoſed the methods which had been uſed to draw a concourſe of people to the door, ſuch as ſending circular letters by the beadles; and concluded in theſe words; "Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe of the multitudes now at our door, and in all the avenues leading to this houſe; they may call them a modeſt multitude if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited ſo long at our door. It may be very eaſy for ſome deſigning ſeditious perſon to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them, and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end; he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could

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could with the ſame eaſe appeaſe them. For this reaſon, I think it was neither regular or prudent to uſe any methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit, it may be ſaid they came hither as humble ſupplicants, but I know whom the law calls *ſturdy beggars*,* and thoſe who brought them hither, could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the ſame manner."

After a few words from Sir John Barnard, in which he defended the aſſembling of people at the doors, and affectedly gave to the phraſe *ſturdy beggars*, that invidious ſenſe in which it was afterwards ſo much repeated by the enemies of the miniſter, the queſtion was called for, and paſſed by a majority of 61; (266 againſt 205.) The firſt reſolution being thus carried, three others were put, and agreed to without a diviſion.

Violence of the multitude.

The debate was protracted till two o'clock in the morning, an hour at that time conſidered extremely late. The people without were ſo exaſperated, that as Sir Robert paſſed towards his carriage, ſome of them caught him by the cloak, and would probably have committed ſome violent outrage on his perſon, if his ſon, Edward Walpole, and general Churchill had not interfered.

Farther proceedings.

On the 16th Sir Charles Turner, according to order, reported to the houſe the proceedings of the

* I was informed, on the reſpectable authority of the late much to be regretted lord John Cavendiſh, that the miniſter uſed the phraſe *ſturdy beggars*, not as a matter of reproach, but to mark that the petitioners againſt the exciſe, were formidable petitioners.

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the committee. The debate was resumed with increased acrimony. Sir John Barnard, Bacon, Sir Thomas Aston, lord Morpeth, Pulteney, and Walter Plumer opposed the question, that the house should agree to the report. Horace Walpole, lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, lord Glenorchy, Clayton, and Sir Robert Walpole supported it; the house divided; the affirmative was voted by a majority of 60 * (249 against 189); and Sir Charles Turner, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney general, the solicitor general, Dodington, Clayton, Sir William Yonge, Sir George Oxenden, Scrope, and Edward Walpole, were directed to prepare and bring in the bill. Chapter 41. 1733.

The effect of this bill on the public mind was so great, and the ferment it occasioned so violent, that I have judged it proper to state every division which took place during its discussion. It is unnecessary to specify the particulars of the debates, which, though conducted with great asperity, contained little novelty, and were often on mere points of order, or discussion of precedents.

The bill was brought in, and read a first time, on the 4th of April. An objection was made that some parts of it were not within the compass of the resolutions, and that it should therefore be withdrawn. This was overruled by a majority of 56; † (232 against 176). A motion being then made for the house to adjourn, was negatived by 237 against 199, and another for the second reading on that day se'nnight was carried by

* Journals. † Ibid.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. by a majority of 36;* (236 againſt 200). The next day it was propoſed to print the bill, and diſtribute a proper number of copies to the members of the houſe, which being oppoſed by the miniſter, was negatived by a majority of 16;† (128 againſt 112.).

The lord mayor of London, however, contrived to obtain a copy, and laid it before the common council; who reſolved to petition the houſe againſt the bill, and prayed to be heard by counſel. The petition was patroniſed by Sir John Barnard, and ordered to lie on the table; but their being heard by counſel was over-ruled by a majority of 17;‡ (214 againſt 197.) The next day ſimilar applications were made from the Towns of Nottingham and Coventry. The order of the day being then read, for the ſecond reading of the bill, Walpole moved that it ſhould be poſtponed to the twelfth day of June: as it was generally underſtood, that the houſe would adjourn before that day, it was manifeſt that the miniſter meant to abandon his ſcheme. This mode, however, of dropping it, did not pleaſe; they wanted it to be rejected with ſome ſevere animadverſion, but though ſome hints were thrown out to that effect, yet the general ſenſe of the houſe, which was uncommonly full, was ſo apparent againſt it, that they did not think it prudent to make any ſpecific motion.

10th April.

Bill relinquiſhed.

Many conjectures have been made on the motive which induced the miniſter to abandon his plan; but I find none ſo ſatisfactory as the diſ-

like

* Journals. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

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like of counteracting the public opinion. The decline of his majority from 61 on the firſt, to 17 on the laſt diviſion, affords no ſolution of his motives, for the intermediate queſtions were not of ſo much importance as the firſt, and though ſome of his friends undoubtedly from a dread of encountering the fury of a miſguided populace, retired for a time from the ſcene of conteſt, I do not find, from the printed liſt in the Hiſtorical Regiſter, that more than four joined the ſtandard of oppoſition. Nor is it probable that the threat of farther deſertions alarmed the miniſter, becauſe, if his partiſans had reſolved to abandon him, they would have united themſelves with the oppoſition, and have formed a conſtant majority in the houſe againſt him. An anecdote recorded by one of his friends, renders it ſtill more probable, that his unwilline ſs to carry any meaſure marked by popular diſapprobation, was the true motive of his conduct.

" On the evening before the report, Sir Robert ſummoned a meeting of the principal members who had ſupported the bill. It was very largely attended. He reſerved his own opinion till the laſt: but perſeverance was the unanimous voice. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of ſupplies, if mobs were to controul the legiſlature in the manner of raiſing them. When Sir Robert had heard them all, he aſſured them, " That he was conſcious of having meant well; that in the preſent inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution

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execution without an armed force; that there would be an end of the liberty of England, if ſupplies were to to be raiſed by the ſword. If, therefore, the reſolution was to proceed with the bill, he would inſtantly requeſt the king's permiſſion to reſign, for he would not be the miniſter to enforce taxes at the expence of blood." *

Public rejoicings.

Though the houſe did not riſe, as was expected, before the 12th of June, yet they adjourned over that day, ſo that the tobacco bill was dropt, and the wine bill was never brought forward. The defeat of this propoſition was celebrated in London, and various parts of the kingdom, as a great national victory. Bonfires were made, effigies burnt, cockades were generally worn, inſcribed with the motto of *Liberty, Property, and no* EXCISE; the Monument was illuminated, and every demonſtration given of exuberant triumph and exceſſive joy. The univerſity of Oxford gave into the ſame folly, and carried their rejoicings to a moſt indecent exceſs. The gownſmen joined and encouraged the mob, jacobitical cries reſounded through the town, and three days paſſed in this diſgraceful manner before the vice chancellor and proctors could reſtore tranquillity.

Farther efforts of oppoſition.

The public rejoicings, and the general averſion entertained againſt the exciſe, inſpired the oppoſition with hopes that they ſhould be enabled, through that medium, to embarraſs government, and effect the removal of the miniſter, by compelling

* This anecdote is mentioned in "Hiſtorical Remarks on the Taxation of free States," on the authority of Mr. White, member for Retford, who lived in friendſhip with Sir Robert Walpole.

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pelling him to repeal the whole body of exciſe laws. With this view, a petition from the dealers in tea and coffee, praying for relief againſt the exciſe laws, as oppreſſive and injurious to trade, was preſented, but it was rejected by 250 againſt 150. * Chapter 41. 1733. 10th April.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the oppoſition ſtill laboured under two groſs miſtakes: the firſt was, that many members who promoted the bill, had voted in contradiction to their real ſentiments from ſelf intereſt; and the ſecond, that the king did not cordially ſupport the miniſter, but waited only for a favourable opportunity of removing him. They had the mortification however to be fully undeceived in theſe opinions. A ſufficient proof that they had undervalued the number of thoſe members who were attached to the miniſter ſoon appeared, upon a motion for appointing by ballot a committee to enquire into the frauds in the cuſtoms. This propoſal was intended to reduce the miniſter to a dilemma. If it had been rejected, it would have been ſaid, that he durſt not ſtand an inquiry into the facts which he had laid down as the principle on which the exciſe bill was founded: if it was carried, great hopes were entertained, that in chuſing a committee by ballot, many of thoſe members who they believed had ſupported the miniſter from a dread of incurring his diſpleaſure, would venture to give their votes in favour of their liſt, in preference to the court liſt, when it would not be known for which liſt each April 25.

* Journals.

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particular perſon gave his vote. No oppoſition being made, a ballot took place, and a warm conteſt enſued; each ſide acted an open and manly part. Their reſpective liſts contained the names of thoſe only who were ſtaunch friends, and the court liſt was carried by a majority of 85. This deciſive victory put and end to the efforts and hopes of oppoſition for this ſeſſion of parliament. *

The king ſupports Walpole.

They were no leſs undeceived in their opinion, that the king did not cordially ſupport the miniſter. Some perſons of great conſequence, had alſo about this period joined oppoſition, and this defection was increaſed from an idea which generally prevailed, that the credit of Walpole was declining, and his diſgrace certain. In the houſe of peers, the oppoſition, which had been rendered formidable by the junction of lord Carteret, was conſiderably increaſed by the defection of ſeveral who enjoyed very profitable poſts under the crown: The earl of Cheſterfield, lord ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Burlington, captain of the band of penſioners, lord Clinton, lord of the bed chamber, and three Scotch peers, the duke of Montroſe, keeper of the great ſeal, the earl of Stair, vice admiral, and the earl of Marchmont, lord regiſter. To theſe were added, lord Cobham, colonel of the king's regiment of horſe, and the duke of Bolton, colonel of the king's regiment of horſe guards. Many of theſe had influenced their friends in the houſe of commons, and particularly the

* De la Faye and Thomas Pelham, to the earl Waldegrave. Correſpondence, April 26.

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the three brothers of lord Chesterfield, had voted against the excise bill. It was generally believed, that the number and consequence of these peers would prevent the minister from venturing to remove them, and that the king would not consent to their dismission or resignation. But the event proved otherwise. On the 11th of April the excise bill was abandoned; and on the 13th, as the earl of Chesterfield, * in company with lord Scarborough, was going up the great stair-case of the palace at St. James's, he was informed by a servant of the duke of Grafton, that his master wanted to see him on business of the greatest importance; on returning home the duke of Grafton waited on him, and acquainted him that he was come by the king's command to require the surrender of the white staff, which was immediately delivered. The dismission of Chesterfield was followed by the removal of Montrose, the earls of Stair, Burlington, and Marchmont, and lord Clinton. The resentment of the minister was carried so far, that lord Cobham and the duke of Bolton were even deprived of their regiments. †

Chapter 41. 1733.

Removals.

The authority of the minister was also fully proved by the nomination of his confidential friends to the vacant offices, among whom the earl of Ilay was most conspicuous. His son, lord Walpole, was also made lord lieutenant of the county

And promotions.

* Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield. Sect. 4.

† Historical Register.

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county of Devon, in the room of lord Clinton, and all doubts of his ſuperior influence in the cabinet, were removed by the appointment of Sir Charles Wager to the office of firſt lord of the admiralty, vacant by the death of lord Torrington, which took place in June. His power on this occaſion was far more evident, becauſe there was no inſtance, ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, that a commoner was raiſed to that high office, and becauſe George the Second had a ſtrong predilection for perſons of rank, and had often been informed, that the family of Sir Charles Wager was not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed.

It is curious to obſerve the veteran ſeaman, in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole,* founding his title to that poſt, not on his naval ſervices, which no one could deny, but on a fanciful genealogy. The demur, however, was over-ruled by the miniſter, the king's ſcruples were removed, the Herald's office did not ſtand in his way, and he was placed at the head of the admiralty, which poſt he continued to fill, during the adminiſtration of Walpole, with much advantage to the miniſter, with great benefit to his country, and with no leſs credit to himſelf.

The king, in his ſpeech from the throne, on the prorogation of the parliament, adverted to the artifices employed to delude the minds of the people, and to pervert the truth. "I cannot paſs by unobſerved, the wicked endeavours that have lately

* Sir Charles Wager to Sir Robert Walpole, 12 July, 1731. Correſpondence, Period V.

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lately been made uſe of to inflame the minds of the people, and by the moſt unjuſt miſrepreſentation to raiſe tumults and diſorders, that almoſt threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend upon the force of truth, to remove the groundleſs jealouſies that have been raiſed of deſigns carrying on againſt the liberties of my people, and upon your known fidelity to defeat and fruſtrate the expectations of ſuch as delight in confuſion. It is my inclination, and has always been my ſtudy, to preſerve the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects. Let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them ſenſible of their preſent happineſs, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by ſpecious pretences, into their own deſtruction."

CHAPTER THE FORTY-SECOND:

1734.

Character of Lord Hardwicke.—Parliamentary Proceedings.—Efforts of the Minority in Parliament.—The Exciſe.—The Removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham.—The Place Bill.—Motion for the Repeal of Septennial Parliaments.—Sir William Wyndham's Speech.—Walpole's Reply.—Bolingbroke's retreat to France.—The King's Speech.—Diſſolution of Parliament.

IN conſequence of the numerous removals and reſignations among the peers, which had taken place the laſt ſeſſion, the oppoſition in the upper houſe became extremely formidable, and the majority of good ſpeakers were ranged on that ſide.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. To counterbalance this preponderancy, Sir Philip Yorke was made lord chief juſtice of the court of King's Bench.

His character. This great lawyer, who ſat ſo long and with ſo diſtinguiſhed a character for integrity and knowledge at the head of the law, had raiſed himſelf ſolely by his eminent talents. The eloquence which he diſplayed at the bar had recommended him to notice, and in 1719 he was appointed ſolicitor general, in the 30th year of his age; at the ſame time he was re-elected for the borough of Lewes in Suſſex, by the intereſt of his patron, the duke of Newcaſtle. In 1723 he was nominated attorney general, and highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudent and able ſpeeches in the houſe of commons. In October, 1733, he was conſtituted lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, and in November, in the ſame year, called to the upper houſe, by the title of baron Hardwicke. The ſtyle of his eloquence was more adapted to the houſe of lords than to the houſe of commons. The tone of his voice was pleaſing and melodious, his manner was placid and dignified. Preciſion of arrangement, cloſeneſs of argument, fluency of expreſſion, elegance of diction, great knowledge of the ſubject on which he ſpoke, were his particular characteriſtics. He ſeldom roſe into great animation; his chief aim was more to convince than amuſe; to appeal to the judgment rather than to the feelings of his auditors. He poſſeſſed a perfect command over himſelf, and his even

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temper was never ruffled by petulant oppoſition, or malignant invective. Chapter 42. 1734.

The parliament aſſembled on the 17th January, and as it was the laſt ſeſſion, the minority exerted their utmoſt efforts to diſtreſs the miniſter, and to increaſe his unpopularity. Meeting of parliament.

The plan of attack was in this, as in the ſeſſion of 1730, principally formed by Bolingbroke; and under his auſpices, and by his direction, ably conducted by Sir William Wyndham, who ſeems to have particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debates.

They firſt tried their ſtrength in various motions for papers and copies of inſtructions which were ſent to the Britiſh miniſters in France and Spain; for an addreſs to know how far the king was engaged by his good offices in the cauſes of the war againſt the Emperor; and for an account of what application had been made by the parties engaged in hoſtilities. In theſe motions their exertions were baffled by the miniſter, and the ſmalleſt majority in his favour was 95. Having exhauſted their efforts in regard to foreign tranſactions, in which he appeared to be moſt vulnerable, they directed their views to domeſtic events. Efforts of the minority.

They attempted to renew the public clamours about the exciſe, and to accuſe the miniſter of not having totally relinquiſhed that ſcheme; and of waiting only for a favourable opportunity of again introducing it. For this purpoſe a petition being again preſented from the druggiſts, and other dealers in tea, for relief againſt the exciſe laws, February 4. Petition againſt the exciſe.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

ſome of the leading members of oppoſition attempted to revive the debate, and were inexcuſably perſonal in their invectives againſt the miniſter. Pulteney in particular obſerved, "I am perſuaded he ſtill entertains the ſame opinion of the exciſe, and waits only for a proper opportunity to renew it; for which reaſon he is unwilling that we ſhould go into ſuch a committee as is now propoſed, leſt we ſhould ſap all the foundations of any future project for a farther extenſion of the exciſe laws." The reply of the miniſter to this inſinuation was direct and manly. After repelling the attacks with equal ſpirit and energy, he ſaid, "As to the wicked ſcheme, as the gentleman was pleaſed to call it, which he would perſuade gentlemen is not yet laid aſide, I, for my part, aſſure this houſe, I am not ſo mad as ever again to engage in any thing that looks like an exciſe, though in my own private opinion, I ſtill think it was a ſcheme that would have tended very much to the intereſt of the nation, and I am convinced that all the clamours without doors, and a great part of the oppoſition it met with every where, was founded upon artful falſehoods, miſrepreſentations, and inſinuations, that ſuch things were intended as had never entered into the thoughts of any man with whom I am acquainted." In conſequence of this explicit declaration, the aſſertions of the contrary ſide made little impreſſion on the houſe, and the queſtion for

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for referring the petition to a committee, was negatived by 233 againſt 155 *. Chapter 42. 1734.

The ſpirit of oppoſition was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that the minority not only reſiſted every meaſure of government with unabating pertenacity, but brought forwards a queſtion that had a direct tendency to undermine and deſtroy the conſtitution which they affected ſo zealouſly to admire. In fact, this attempt had ſo direct a tendency to renew that military independance, which in the laſt century had ſubverted the throne, and enſlaved the people, that even thoſe writers who, in other reſpects, invariably decry the Walpole adminiſtration, have not ſcrupled to reprobate this propoſal, though it was ſupported with all the ſtrength of their favourite party. † The motion related to the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their military commands. Debates on the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham.

Lord Morpeth, after the reading of the mutiny bill, roſe, and concluded a ſpeech full of trite reflections on a ſtanding army, under the influence of the crown, on the danger of arbitrary power, and ſome inapplicable and erroneous alluſions to the conſtitution of Holland and Sweden, by moving for leave to bring in a bill "for ſecuring the conſtitution, by preventing officers, not above the rank of colonels of regiments, from being deprived of their commiſſions, otherwiſe than by judgment of a court martial to be held for 13th Feb.

* Chandler. Journals.

† Smollett, book. 2. chap. 5.—Belſham, vol. 1. p. 340.

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for that purpoſe, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament."

This motion was argued at great length, and with uncommon warmth; but though ancient and modern hiſtory was ranſacked, and every topic introduced which ingenuity could ſuggeſt, few obſervations worthy of record were produced. The minority were fully employed in defending their propoſition againſt the charges with which it was overwhelmed by the miniſterial advocates.

Walpole concluded the debate,* with a ſpeech replete with ſound principles and conſtitutional doctrines. He defended not only the prerogative of the crown, but the intereſt of parliament, and the well-being of the community, againſt the horrible deſpotiſm of a ſtratocracy, or army government; vindicated the purity of court martials, and deprecated the evils which would reſult to the ſervice from ſubjecting them to the influence of intrigue, and making their deciſions the mean of retaining or forfeiting a poſt for life. "The behaviour of an officer, he obſerved, may be influenced by malice, revenge, and faction, and on the pretence of honour and conſcience; and if ever any officer of the army, becauſe the king refuſed to comply with ſome very unreaſonable demand, ſhould reſolve to oppoſe in every thing the meaſures of government, I ſhould think any man a moſt pitiful miniſter if he ſhould be afraid of adviſing

* Lord Catherlogh ſaid a few words after him, but they contained a ſimple diſſent, unenforced by argument, expreſſive only of the obligations of the army to the movers of the queſtion.

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advising his majesty to cashier such an officer. On the contrary, I shall leave it as a legacy to all future ministers, * that upon every occasion, it is their duty to advise their master that such a man is unfit to have any command in his armies. Our king has, by his prerogative, a power of placing, preferring, and removing any officer he pleases, either in our army or militia: It is by that prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our laws, and preserve the peace of the kingdom: if a wrong use should be made of that prerogative, his ministers are accountable for it to parliament; but it cannot be taken from him or diminished without overturning our constitution; for our present happy constitution may be overturned by republican, as well as by arbitrary schemes. Therefore it must be left to his majesty to judge by what motives an officer acts, and if he thinks an officer acts from bad motives, in duty to himself, he ought to remove him." He then expatiated on the danger of a dictatorship from the measure proposed, and concluded with the constitutional apothegm:

Chapter 42. 1734.

"*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

The question was negatived without a division. †

Foiled in this attempt, the opposition renewed the attack on a ground more plausible and popular, that of personal inquiry. Sandys moved for an address, "humbly to desire his majesty, graciously to inform the house, by whose advice he had

* Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 105. These words are erroneously attributed to Mr. Pelham, by Chandler.

† Chandler. Journals.

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had been pleaſed to diſcharge the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham, and what crimes were alledged againſt them." Pulteney ſeconded the motion. The miniſtry diſcerning the views of their opponents, and knowing that to diſcuſs the queſtion would produce the ſame effect as pleading to a ſpecific charge, by letting looſe on them all the powers of invective, and all the arts of miſrepreſentation, declined the conteſt; they made no reply, but called for the queſtion. Sir William Wyndham in vain attempted, by reproaches and invectives, to provoke a debate, the queſtion was again called for, and on a diviſion, negatived by 252 againſt 193. *

On the ſame day the duke of Marlborough brought into the houſe of lords, a bill ſimilar to that in the commons, but it was thrown out after the firſt reading. A motion to the ſame purport as that of Sandys was made by lord Cartaret, but rejected. Proteſts on both occaſions were entered on the journals, ſigned by upwards of thirty peers, and the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham ſeparately ſigned a ſhort and manly proteſt.

On the place bill;

Another meaſure of oppoſition, calculated to render themſelves popular, was to revive a ſelf-denying ordinance, which had excited much clamour in the reign of king William, and, after great oppoſition, had formed an article among the limitations in the act of ſettlement, but had been afterwards repealed. It was intitled a bill for ſecuring

* Journals.

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curing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers (both civil and military) in the houſe of commons. Several friends of the miniſter were ſtrongly inclined to favour the bill, and others could not venture to oppoſe ſo popular a queſtion at the eve of a general election. Chapter 42. 1734. February 26.

The motion was alſo ſo agreeable to the ſentiments of many among the Whigs, who uſually ſupported government, that the miniſter did not uſe his influence on this occaſion. He did not even ſpeak in the debate, but contented himſelf with giving a ſilent vote, as he did on the penſion bill. For theſe reaſons it was negatived by a very ſmall majority of 230 againſt 191.* But a ſmall majority on this ſingle queſtion had no effect on the general ſtate of parties. It fully proved the judgment of Walpole, in not committing himſelf in ſubjects of ſo much delicacy, or preſſing his adherents to vote in oppoſition to popular predilections.

On the repeal of the ſeptennial bill;

But the queſtion on which the oppoſition founded their principal hopes, if not of ſucceſs at leaſt of embarraſſing the miniſter, was a propoſal to repeal the ſeptennial bill, which was firſt introduced on this occaſion, and afterwards annually renewed.

It had been long a matter of ſurpriſe, that a queſtion which was ſo well calculated to increaſe their popularity, had not been propoſed before. But the fact was, that in this particular inſtance the

* Journals.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. the oppoſition was divided. The Tories and Jacobites, who had ſtrenuouſly reſiſted the introduction of the bill, could not obtain the co-operation of the diſaffected Whigs, as it ſeemed to imply a dereliction of their principles, to vote for the repeal of a bill which they had once thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. At the repeated inſtigations of Bolingbroke, Sir William Wyndham and the leading Tories perſiſted, and at length carried their point. The Whigs reluctantly complied, and proved, by their manner of conducting the debate, the awkward ſituation in which they were placed. The motion was made by Bromley, and ſeconded by Sir John St. Aubyn. The only Whigs of any conſequence who ſpoke for the queſtion, were Sir John Barnard, who ſaid only a few words, and Pulteney, March 13. who roſe late in the debate. He made a ſhort ſpeech, and prefaced it with an apology for his apparent inconſiſtency, in voting for the repeal of a bill which he had ſupported at the time of its introduction.

The ſpeech of Sir William Wyndham on this occaſion, is triumphantly quoted by the modern writers who uniformly ſtigmatiſe the Walpole adminiſtration, as a maſter-piece of eloquence and energy; they ſtate his arguments as unanſwerable. At the ſame time theſe partial reporters never advert to the reply of Sir Robert Walpole, but leave the reader to ſuppoſe that ſcarcely any anſwer was made,

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made, and that the whole ſtrength of the argument lay on the ſide of oppoſition. * Chapter. 42. 1734.

To abridge or detail printed debates, without illuſtrating them by any new documents, is not the general purport of this work. But on this occaſion, where there has been ſuch a wilful ſuppreſſion of the argument on one ſide, and ſuch an affected diſplay of the reaſoning on the other, it will be almoſt as great a novelty to give the ſpeech of the miniſter, as if it had never been in print. I have therefore inſerted the philippic of Sir William Wyndham, and Walpole's reply, verbatim from contemporary narratives. †

After a ſhort reply to Sir William Yonge, who preceded him, and juſtifying the aſſertions of Sir John Barnard, who ſpoke in favour of the motion, Sir William Wyndham vindicated the triennial bill Sir William Wyndham's ſpeech.

* Smollett, in recording this tranſaction, has characteriſed Sir William Wyndham, by ſaying that, "His ſpeech ſpoke him the unrivaled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unſhaken patriot." He gives only that part of the ſpeech which relates to the character of Walpole, and concludes, "Notwithſtanding the moſt warm, the moſt nervous, the moſt pathetic remonſtrances in favour of the motion, *the queſtion was put, and it was ſuppreſſed by mere dint of numbers*, vol. 2. p. 495. If Smollett means any thing by this relation, it muſt be that no reply was made to the argument of his admired orator, but that the buſineſs was got rid of by the cry of *Queſtion! Queſtion!* Belſham has thus related the tranſaction: "The miniſter having defied the oppoſition to adduce a ſingle inſtance, in which the intereſts of the nation had been injured by the operation of this bill, or by any undue exerciſe of the royal prerogative connected with it, Sir William Wyndham obſerved," &c. After quoting Sir William Wyndham's ſpeech, he adds, without taking the ſmalleſt notice of Sir Robert Walpole's reply, "Notwithſtanding the admiration excited by this ſudden burſt of eloquence, and the ability with which the motion of repeal was ſupported by various other ſpeakers, it was negatived on the diviſion, though not by the accuſtomed miniſterial majority, the numbers being 247 againſt 184."

† Political State of Great Britain.—Hiſtorical Regiſter.—See alſo Chandler.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. bill from the objections of thoſe who declared that it was introduced by the enemies of the revolution, he added, "The learned gentleman has told us, that the ſeptennial law is a proper medium between the unlimited power of the crown, and the limitting that power too much; but before he had fixed upon this as a medium, he ſhould firſt have diſcovered to us the two extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited power in the crown, with reſpect to the continuing of parliaments, is one extreme; but the other I cannot really find out; for I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown was too much limited by the triennial law, or that the happineſs of the nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent elections. As to the power of the crown, it is very certain, that as long as the adminiſtration of public affairs is agreeable to the generality of the people, were they to chuſe a new parliament every year, they would chuſe ſuch repreſentatives as would moſt heartily concur in every thing with ſuch an adminiſtration; ſo that even an annual parliament could not be any limitation of the juſt power of the crown; and as to the happineſs of the nation, it is certain, that gentlemen will always contend with more heat and animoſity about being members of a long parliament, than about being members of a ſhort one; and therefore the elections for a ſeptennial parliament muſt always diſturb the peace, and injure the happineſs of the nation, more than the elections for an annual or triennial parliament: Of this

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this the elections in the city of London, mentioned by my worthy friend, are an evident demonſtration. Chapter 42. 1734.

"As to the elections coming on when the nation is in a ferment, it is ſo far from being an objection to frequent elections, that it is, in my opinion, a ſtrong argument in favour of them; becauſe it is one of the chief ſupporters of the freedom of the nation. It is plain, that the people ſeldom or ever were in a ferment, but when encroachments were made upon their rights and privileges; and when any ſuch are made, it is very proper, nay, it is even neceſſary, that the people ſhould be allowed to proceed to a new election, in order that they may chuſe ſuch repreſentatives as will do them juſtice, by puniſhing thoſe who have been making encroachments upon them. Otherwiſe, one of theſe two effects may very probably enſue: either the ferment will break out into an open inſurrection, or the encroachment that has been made, may happen to be forgot before a new election comes on, and then the invaders of the people's rights will have a much better lay for getting ſuch a new parliament choſen, as will not only free them from all puniſhment, but will confirm the encroachments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the rights of the people may be nibbled and curtailed piecemeal, and ambitious criminals may at laſt get themſelves ſo firmly ſeated, that it will be out of the power of

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. the people to ſtop their carcer, or to avoid the chains which they are preparing.

" Now, to return to the power of the crown, which the learned gentleman has told us was too much limited by the triennial law; I think I have made it plain, that the juſt power of the crown cannot poſſibly be limited by frequent elections, and conſequently could not be too much limited by the triennial law; but by long parliaments the crown may be enabled to aſſume, and to make uſe of an unjuſt power. By our conſtitution, the only legal method we have of vindicating our rights and privileges againſt the encroachments of ambitious miniſters is by parliament; the only way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked adminiſtration is by parliament; the only effectual way we have of bringing high and powerful criminals to condign puniſhment is by parliament. But if ever it ſhould come to be in the power of the adminiſtration to have a majority of this houſe depending upon the crown, or to get a majority of ſuch men returned as the repreſentatives of the people, the parliament will then ſtand us in no ſtead. It can anſwer none of theſe great purpoſes; the whole nation may be convinced of the weakneſs or the wickedneſs of thoſe in the adminiſtration, and yet it may be out of the nation's power, in a legal way, to get the fools turned out, or the knaves hanged.

" This misfortune can be brought upon us by nothing but by bribery and corruption; and therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully

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watchfully againſt. And an honourable gentleman who ſpoke ſome time ago, upon the ſame ſide with me, has ſo clearly demonſtrated, that the elections for a ſeptennial parliament are more liable to be influenced by corruption than thoſe for a triennial, that I am ſurpriſed his argument ſhould be miſtaken or not comprehended: but it ſeems the moſt certain maxims, the plaineſt truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a maxim, and I think it is a moſt infallible maxim, that a man will contend with more heat and vigour, for a poſt, either of honour or profit, which he is to hold for a long term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a ſhort term. This has been controverted: it has been laid down as a maxim, and I think equally infallible, that 100 guineas is a more powerful bribe than 50; this has been denied; yet nevertheleſs I muſt beg leave to puſh the argument a little farther. Chapter 42. 1734.

"Let us ſuppoſe a gentleman at the head of the adminiſtration, whoſe only ſafety depends upon corrupting the members of this houſe: this may now be only a ſuppoſition, but it is certainly ſuch a one as may happen; and if ever it ſhould, let us ſee if ſuch a miniſter might not promiſe himſelf more ſucceſs in a ſeptennial, than he could in a triennial parliament. It is an old maxim, that every man has his price, if you can but come up to it: this, I hope, does not hold true of every man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true; and that of a great many it may hold

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true, is what I believe was never doubted of, though I don't know but it may now likewise be denied. However, let us suppose this distressed minister applying to one of those men who has a price, and is a member of this house: in order to engage this member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers him a pension of £. 1,000 a year. If it be but a triennial parliament, will not the member immediately consider within himself, if I accept of this pension, and vote according to direction, I shall lose my character in the country, I shall lose my seat in parliament the next election, and my pension will then of course be at an end; so that by turning rogue I shall get but £. 3,000, this is not worth my while; and so the minister must either offer him, perhaps double that sum, or otherwise he will probably determine against being corrupted. But if the parliament were septennial, the same man might perhaps say within himself, I am now in for seven years, by accepting of this pension I shall have at least £. 7,000, this will set me above contempt; and if I am turned out at next election, I do not value it, I'll take the money in the mean time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this; and does not this evidently shew, that a wicked minister cannot corrupt a triennial parliament with the same money with which he may corrupt a septennial.

"Again, suppose this minister applies to a gentleman who has purchased, and thereby made himself member for a borough, at the rate of, perhaps, £. 1,500, besides travelling charges, and other little

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little expences: suppose the minister offers him a pension of £. 500 a year to engage his vote, will not he naturally consider, if it be a triennial parliament, that if he cannot get a higher pension he will lose money by being a member; and surely, if it be a right burgess, he will resolve not to sell at all, rather than sell his commodity for less than it cost him; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will probably give over standing a candidate again upon such a footing; by which, not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the electors at the next election. But in case it be a septennial parliament, will he not then probably accept of the £. 500 pension, if he be one of those men that has a price? because he concludes that for £. 1,500, he may always secure his election; and every parliament will put near £. 2,000 in his pocket, besides reimbursing him all his charges: After viewing the present question in this light, is it possible not to conclude, that septennial parliaments, as well as the elections for such, must always be much more liable to be influenced by corruption than triennial, or elections for triennial. Chapter 42. 1734.

" For my own part, I have been often chosen, I have sat in parliament above these twenty years, and I can say with truth, that neither at my election, nor after my return, no man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by bribery and corruption; but am sorry to hear the impossibility of preventing it mentioned, and men-

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tioned too within theſe walls. The honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, told us, the evil of corruption was inevitable: if I were ſo unhappy as to think ſo, I ſhould look upon my country to be in the moſt melancholy ſituation. Perhaps it may be the way of thinking among thoſe he keeps company with; but I thank God I have a better opinion of my countrymen; and ſince it appears to be a way of thinking among ſome gentlemen, it is high time for us to contrive ſome method of putting it out of their power to corrupt the virtue of the people. For we may depend upon this as a certain maxim, that thoſe who think they cannot gain the affections of the people, will endeavour to purchaſe their proſtitution; and the beſt way to prevent the ſucceſs of their endeavours, is to raiſe the price ſo high, as to put it out of the power of any man, or of any ſet of men, to come up to it. If a parliament is to be purchaſed, if elections are to be purchaſed, it is manifeſt the corrupting of triennial muſt, upon the whole, coſt a great deal more than the corrupting of ſeptennial elections or parliaments. Therefore, in order to put it out of the power of any man, or of any adminiſtration, to purchaſe the proſtitution of a parliament, or of the people, let us return to triennial parliaments; and if that will not do, let us return to annual elections, which, I am very certain, would render the practice of corruption impoſſible. This is now the more neceſſary, becauſe of the many new poſts and places of profit which the crown has at its diſpoſal,

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diſpoſal, and the great civil liſt ſettled upon his preſent majeſty, and which will probably be continued to his ſucceſſors: this, I ſay, urges the neceſſity for frequent new parliaments, becauſe the crown has it now more in their power than formerly to ſeduce the people, or the repreſentatives of the people, in caſe any future adminiſtration ſhould find it neceſſary for their own ſafety to do ſo.

"That the increaſe or decreaſe of corruption at elections, or in parliament, muſt always depend upon the increaſe or decreaſe of virtue among the people, I ſhall readily grant; but it is as certain, that the virtue of almoſt every particular man, depends upon the temptations that are thrown in his way; and according to the quantity of virtue he has, the quantity of the temptation muſt be raiſed, ſo as at laſt to make it an over-balance for his virtue. Suppoſe, then, that the generality of the electors in England had virtue enough to withſtand a temptation of five guineas each, but not virtue enough to withſtand a temptation of ten guineas one with another. Is it not then much more probable, that the gentlemen who deal in corruption, may be able to raiſe as much money once every ſeven years, as will be ſufficient to give ten guineas each, one with another, to the generality of the electors, than that they will be able to raiſe ſuch a ſum once in every three years? And is it not from thence certain, that the virtue of the people in general is in greater danger of being deſtroyed by ſeptennial than by triennial parliaments? To ſuppoſe that every man's vote at an election, is like a commodity, which

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must ſold at the market price, is really to ſuppoſe that no man has any virtue at all. For I will aver, that when once a man reſolves to ſell his vote at any rate, he has then no virtue left, which, I hope, is not the caſe of many of our electors, and therefore the only thing we are to apprehend is, leſt ſo high a price ſhould be offered as may tempt thouſands to ſell, who had never before any thoughts of carrying ſuch a commodity to market. This is the fatal event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from ſeptennial than triennial parliaments. If we have therefore any deſire to preſerve the virtue of our people; if we have any deſire to preſerve our conſtitution; if we have any deſire to preſerve our liberties, our properties, and every thing that can be dear to a free people, we ought to reſtore the triennial law; and if that be found to be inſignificant, we ought to aboliſh prorogations, and return to annual elections.

"The learned gentleman ſpoke of the prerogative of the crown, and aſked, if it had lately been extended beyond thoſe bounds preſcribed to it by law? I will not ſay that there has been lately any attempts to extend it beyond the bounds preſcribed by law; but I will ſay, thoſe bounds have been of late ſo vaſtly enlarged, that there ſeems to be no great occaſion for any ſuch attempt. What are the many penal laws made within theſe forty years, but ſo many extenſions of the prerogative of the crown, and as many diminutions of the liberty of the ſubject? And whatever the neceſſity was that brought us into the enacting of ſuch

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such laws, it was a fatal necessity; it has greatly added to the power of the crown, and particular care ought to be taken not to throw any more weight into that scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those penal laws might have been avoided; I am persuaded the enacting of the law relating to trials for treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for though it was but a temporary law, it was a dangerous precedent; and the rebellion was far from being so general in any county, as not to leave a sufficient number of faithful subjects for trying those who had committed acts of treason within the county. Chapter 42. 1734.

"In former times the crown had a large estate of its own; an estate sufficient for supporting the dignity of the crown; and as we had no standing armies, nor any great fleets to provide for, the crown did not want frequent supplies; so that they were not under any necessity of calling frequent parliaments. And as parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such as much as possible. But though the crown did not then want frequent supplies, the people frequently wanted a redress of grievances, which could not be obtained but by parliament; therefore the only complaint then was, that the crown either did not call any parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough. This was the only complaint; and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent parliaments, every one of which, it was presumed, was always

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always to be a new parliament; for it is well known, that the method of prorogation was of old very rarely made uſe of, and was firſt introduced by thoſe who were attempting to make encroachments upon the rights of the people.

"But now the caſe is altered. The crown, either by ill management, or by prodigality and profuſeneſs to its favourites, has ſpent or granted away all that eſtate; and the public expence is ſo much enlarged, that the crown muſt have annual ſupplies, and is therefore under a neceſſity of having the parliament meet every year. But as new elections are always dangerous as well as troubleſome to miniſters of ſtate, they are for having them as ſeldom as poſſible; ſo that the complaint is not now for want of frequent meetings or ſeſſions of parliament, but againſt having the ſame parliament continued too long. This is the grievance now complained of; this is what the people deſire; this is what they have a right to have redreſſed. The members of parliament may for one year be looked on as the real and true repreſentatives of the people; but when a miniſter has ſeven years to practiſe on them, and to feel their pulſes, they may be induced to forget whoſe repreſentatives they are; they may throw off all dependance upon their electors, and may become dependants upon the crown, or rather upon the miniſter for the time being, which the learned gentleman has moſt ingeniouſly confeſſed to us, he thinks leſs dangerous than a dependance upon his electors.

"We

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"We have been told in this houſe, that no faith is to be given to propheſies, therefore I ſhall not pretend to propheſy; but I may ſuppoſe a caſe, which, though it has not yet happened, may poſſibly happen. Let us then ſuppoſe a man abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raiſed to be chief miniſter of ſtate, by the concurrence of many whimſical events; afraid or unwilling to truſt any but creatures of his own making, and moſt of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour; ignorant of the true intereſt of his country, and conſulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himſelf and his favourites; in foreign affairs truſting none but ſuch whoſe education makes it impoſſible for them to have ſuch knowledge or ſuch qualifications as can either be of ſervice to their country, or give any weight or credit to their negotiations. Let us ſuppoſe the true intereſt of the nation by ſuch means neglected or miſunderſtood, her honour and credit loſt, her trade inſulted, her merchants plundered, and her ſailors murdered; and all theſe things overlooked, only for fear his adminiſtration ſhould be endangered. Suppoſe him next poſſeſſed of great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament of his own chuſing, moſt of their ſeats purchaſed, and their votes bought at the expence of the public treaſure. In ſuch a parliament, let us ſuppoſe attempts made to enquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the diſtreſs he has brought upon it; and when lights

Chapter 42. 1734.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. lights proper for attaining thoſe ends are called for, not perhaps for the information of the particular gentlemen who call for them, but becauſe nothing can be done in a parliamentary way, until theſe things be in a proper way laid before parliament. Suppoſe theſe lights refuſed, theſe reaſonable requeſts rejected by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular intereſt, by granting them thoſe poſts and places which ought never to be given to any but for the good of the public. Upon this ſcandalous victory, let us ſuppoſe this chief miniſter pluming himſelf in defiances, becauſe he finds he has got a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us farther ſuppoſe him arrived to that degree of inſolence and arrogance, as to domineer over all the men of ancient families, all the men of ſenſe, figure, or fortune in the nation; and as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to deſtroy or corrupt in all.

"I am ſtill not propheſying, I am only ſuppoſing; and the caſe I am going to ſuppoſe, I hope will never happen; but with ſuch a miniſter, and ſuch a parliament, let us ſuppoſe a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for ſome other reaſon, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the intereſt of his people, weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and inſatiable avarice. This caſe has never happened in this nation; I hope, I ſay, it will never exiſt; but as it is poſſible it may,

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may, could there any greater curſe happen to a nation, than ſuch a prince on the throne, adviſed, and ſolely adviſed by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported by ſuch a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws, the exiſtence of ſuch a prince, or ſuch a miniſter, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the exiſtence of ſuch a parliament I think we may: and as ſuch a parliament is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more miſchief while the ſeptennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am moſt heartily for the repeal of it." Chapter 4. 1734.

After the intervention of a ſhort ſpeech from Henry Pelham, and another from Pulteney, Sir Robert Walpole thus addreſſed the chair;

"Sir, I do aſſure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this debate, but ſuch incidents now generally happen towards the end of our debates, nothing at all relating to the ſubject, and gentlemen make ſuch ſuppoſitions, meaning ſome perſon, or perhaps, as they ſay, no perſon now in being, and talk ſo much of wicked miniſters, domineering miniſters, miniſters pluming themſelves in defiances, which terms, and ſuch like, have been of late ſo much made uſe of in this houſe, that if they really mean no body either in the houſe or out of it, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed they at leaſt mean to call upon ſome gentleman in this houſe to make them a reply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a picture in my turn; and I may likewiſe Walpole's Reply.

ſay,

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

ſay, that I do not mean to give a deſcription of any particular perſon now in being. When gentlemen talk of miniſters abandoned to all ſenſe of virtue or honour, other gentlemen may, I am ſure, with equal juſtice, and, I think, more juſtly, ſpeak of anti-miniſters and mock-patriots, who never had either virtue or honour, but in the whole courſe of their oppoſition are actuated only by motives of envy, and of reſentment againſt thoſe who have diſappointed them in their views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their deſires.

" But now, Sir, let me too ſuppoſe, and the houſe being cleared, I am ſure no perſon that hears me can come within the deſcription of the perſon I am to ſuppoſe. Let us ſuppoſe in this, or in ſome other unfortunate country, an anti-miniſter, who thinks himſelf a perſon of ſo great and extenſive parts, and of ſo many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himſelf as the only perſon in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation, and therefore chriſtening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the adminiſtration, by the name of Blunderer. Suppoſe this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party ſome perſons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of deſperate views, ariſing from diſappointed and malicious hearts; all theſe gentlemen, with reſpect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and by him ſolely; all

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all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the embassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, I will get it you, tell me but what you want, I will endeavour to procure it for you: upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts; what he wants is moved for in parliament, and when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all which

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which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory, this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in defiances. Let us farther suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such a wretch as this?

"Now, to be serious, and to talk really to the subject in hand. Though the question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy friend under the gallery, by the learned gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great occasion to say any thing farther against it; yet as some new matter has been stated by some of the gentlemen who have since that time spoke upon the other side of the question, I hope the house will indulge me the liberty of giving some of those reasons which induce me to be against the motion. In general I must take notice, that the nature of our constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this motion. It is certain, that our's is a mixed government, and the perfection

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perfection of our conſtitution conſiſts in this, that the monarchical, ariſtocratical, and democratical forms of government are mixed and interwoven in our's, ſo as to give us all the advantages of each, without ſubjecting us to the dangers and inconveniences of either. The democratical form of government, which is the only one I have now occaſion to take notice of, is liable to theſe inconveniences, that they are generally too tedious in their coming to any reſolution, and ſeldom briſk and expeditious enough in carrying their reſolutions into execution: that they are always wavering in their reſolutions, and never ſteady in any of the meaſures they reſolve to purſue; and that they are often involved in factions, ſeditions, and inſurrections, which expoſes them to be made the tools, if not the prey of their neighbours. Therefore in all the regulations we make, with reſpect to our conſtitution, we are to guard againſt running too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical: this was, in my opinion, the effect of the triennial law, and will again be the effect, if ever it ſhould be reſtored. Chapter 42. 1734.

"That triennial elections would make our government too tedious in all their reſolves is evident; becauſe in ſuch caſe, no prudent adminiſtration would ever reſolve upon any meaſure of conſequence, till they had felt not only the pulſe of the parliament, but the pulſe of the people; and the miniſters of ſtate would always labour under this diſadvantage, that as ſecrets of ſtate

 muſt

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. must not be immediately divulged, their enemies (and enemies they will always have) would have a handle for expoſing their meaſures, and rendering them diſagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying perhaps a new election againſt them, before they could have an opportunity of juſtifying their meaſures, by divulging thoſe facts and circumſtances from whence the juſtice and the wiſdom of their meaſures would clearly appear.

" Then it is by experience well known, that what is called the populace of every country, are apt to be too much elated with ſucceſs, and too much dejected with every misfortune. This makes them wavering in their opinions about affairs of ſtate, and never long of the ſame mind; and as this houſe is choſen by the free and unbiaſſed voice of the people in general, if this choice were ſo often renewed, we might expect, that this houſe would be as wavering and as unſteady as the people uſually are; and it being impoſſible to carry on the public affairs of the nation without the concurrence of this houſe, the miniſters would always be obliged to comply, and conſequently would be obliged to change their meaſures as often as the people changed their minds.

" With ſeptennial parliaments we are not expoſed to either of theſe misfortunes, becauſe, if the miniſters, after having felt the pulſe of the parliament, which they can always ſoon do, reſolve upon any meaſures, they have generally time enough before the new election comes on, to give the people a proper information, in order to ſhew them

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them the juſtice and the wiſdom of the meaſures they have purſued; and if the people ſhould at any time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or ſhould without a cauſe change their minds, thoſe at the helm of affairs have time to ſet them right, before a new election comes on. Chapter 42. 1734.

"As to faction and ſedition, I will grant, that in monarchical and ariſtocratical governments, it generally ariſes from violence and oppreſſion; but in democratical governments, it always ariſes from the people's having too great a ſhare in the government. For in all countries, and in all governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet ſpirits, who can never be at reſt, either in power or out of power. When in power they are never eaſy, unleſs every man ſubmits entirely to their direction; and when out of power, they are always working and intriguing againſt thoſe that are in, without any regard to juſtice, or to the intereſt of their country. In popular governments ſuch men have too much game, they have too many opportunities for working upon and corrupting the minds of the people, in order to give them a bad impreſſion of, and to raiſe diſcontents againſt thoſe that have the management of the public affairs for the time; and theſe diſcontents often break out into ſeditions and inſurrections. This would, in my opinion, be our misfortune, if our parliaments were either annual or triennial: by ſuch frequent elections, there would be ſo much power thrown into the hands of the people, as would deſtroy that equal mix-

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

ture, which is the beauty of our conſtitution. In ſhort, our government would really become a democratical government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preſerve our conſtitution, in order to prevent our falling under tyranny and arbitrary power, we ought to preſerve that law, which I really think has brought our conſtitution to a more equal mixture, and conſequently to a greater perfection than it was ever in before that law took place.

" As to bribery and corruption, if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch baſe means, the majority of the electors of Great Britain, to chuſe ſuch men as would probably give up their liberties; if it were poſſible to influence, by ſuch means, a majority of the members of this houſe to conſent to the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power, I ſhould readily allow, that the calculations made by the gentlemen of the other ſide were juſt, and their inference true; but I am perſuaded that neither of theſe is poſſible. As the members of this houſe generally are, and muſt always be, gentlemen of fortune and figure in their country, is it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that any of them could by a penſion or a poſt be influenced to conſent to the overthrow of our conſtitution, by which the enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious. I will allow, that with reſpect to bribery, the price muſt be higher or lower, generally in proportion to the virtue of the man who is to be

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be bribed; but it muſt likewiſe be granted, that the humour he happens to be in at the time, and the ſpirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his virtue. When no encroachments are made upon the rights of the people, when the people do not think themſelves in any danger, there may be many of the electors, who, by a bribe of ten guineas, might be induced to vote for one candidate rather than another; but if the court were making any encroachments upon the rights of the people, a proper ſpirit would, without doubt, ariſe in the nation, and in ſuch a caſe I am perſuaded that none, or very few, even of ſuch electors, could be induced to vote for a court candidate, no not for ten times the ſum.

"There may be ſome bribery and corruption in the nation, I am afraid there will always be ſome. But it is no proof of it that ſtrangers are ſometimes choſen; for a gentleman may have ſo much natural influence over a borough in his neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to chuſe any perſon he pleaſes to recommend; and if upon ſuch recommendation they chuſe one or two of his friends, who are perhaps ſtrangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two ſtrangers were choſen their repreſentatives by the means of bribery and corruption.

"To inſinuate that money may be iſſued from the public treaſury for bribing elections, is really ſomething very extraordinary, eſpecially in thoſe gentlemen who know how many checks are upon every ſhilling that can be iſſued from thence; and

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

how regularly the money granted in one year for the ſervice of the nation, muſt always be accounted for the very next ſeſſions in this houſe, and likewiſe in the other, if they have a mind to call for any ſuch account. And as to gentlemen in offices, if they have any advantage over country gentlemen, in having ſomething elſe to depend on beſides their own private fortunes, they have likewiſe many diſadvantages: they are obliged to live here at London with their families, by which they are put to a much greater expence, than gentlemen of equal fortune who live in the country. This lays them under a very great diſadvantage in ſupporting their intereſt in the Country. The country gentleman, by living among the electors, and purchaſing the neceſſaries for his family from them, keeps up an acquaintance and correſpondence with them, without putting himſelf to any extraordinary charge; whereas a gentleman who lives in London, has no other way of keeping up an acquaintance and correſpondence among his friends in the country, but by going down once or twice a year, at a very extraordinary expence, and often without any other buſineſs; ſo that we may conclude, a gentleman in office cannot, even in ſeven years, ſave much for diſtributing in ready money at the time of an election; and I really believe, if the fact were narrowly inquired into, it would appear, that the gentlemen in office are as little guilty of bribing their electors with ready money, as any other ſet of gentlemen in the kingdom.

"That

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"That there are ferments often raiſed among the people without any juſt cauſe, is what I am ſurpriſed to hear controverted, ſince very late experience may convince us of the contrary: do not we know what a ferment was raiſed in the nation towards the latter end of the late queen's reign? And it is well known what a fatal change in the affairs of this nation was introduced, or at leaſt confirmed, by an election coming on while the nation was in that ferment. Do not we know what a ferment was raiſed in the nation ſoon after his late majeſty's acceſſion? And if an election had then been allowed to come on while the nation was in that ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wiſely provided againſt by the very law which is now wanted to be repealed.

"It has, indeed, been ſaid, that the chief motive for enacting that law, now no longer exiſts: I cannot admit that the motive they mean was the chief motive; but even that motive is very far from having entirely ceaſed. Can gentlemen imagine, that in the ſpirit raiſed in the nation not above a twelvemonth ſince, Jacobitiſm and diſaffection to the preſent government had no ſhare? Perhaps ſome who might wiſh well to the preſent eſtabliſhment did co-operate, nay, I do not know but they were the firſt movers of that ſpirit; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that the ſpirit then raiſed ſhould have grown up to ſuch a ferment,

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. ment, merely from a propoſition which was honeſtly and fairly laid before the parliament, and left entirely to their determination! No, the ſpirit was, perhaps, begun by thoſe who are truly friends to the illuſtrious family we have now upon the throne; but it was raiſed to a much greater height than, I believe, even they deſigned, by Jacobites, and ſuch as are enemies to our preſent eſtabliſhment, who thought they never had a fairer opportunity of bringing about what they have ſo long and ſo unſucceſsfully wiſhed for, than that which had been furniſhed them by thoſe who firſt raiſed that ſpirit. I hope the people have now in a great meaſure come to themſelves, and therefore I doubt not but the next elections will ſhew, that when they are left to judge coolly, they can diſtinguiſh between the real and the pretended friends to the government. But I muſt ſay, if the ferment then raiſed in the nation had not already greatly ſubſided, I ſhould have thought a new election a very dangerous experiment; and as ſuch ferments may hereafter often happen, I muſt think that frequent elections will always be dangerous; for which reaſon, in ſo far as I can ſee at preſent, I ſhall, I believe, at all times think it a very dangerous experiment to repeal the ſeptennial bill."

It is impoſſible at this diſtance of time to appreciate exactly the effect of the miniſter's ſpeech; but a contemporary writer * aſſerts, that it was one

* Tindal.

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one of the beſt he ever made. The fate of theſe two ſpeeches is ſingular: Sir William Wyndham, by his diſreſpectful alluſions to the king, drew on himſelf a reproof, the juſtice of which neither himſelf or his friends have endeavoured to diſprove. It was conſidered as an intemperate effuſion, and did not loſe the miniſter a ſingle ſupporter in parliament, or a ſingle adherent in the country; yet it has been carefully inſerted by party writers, calling themſelves hiſtorians, while that of the miniſter has been no leſs invidiouſly ſuppreſſed.

Walpole's ſpeech, as far as it relates to that perſonality which ſeems to be the recommending characteriſtic of the other, has certainly leſs claim to be recorded, becauſe the character and ſituation of Bolingbroke, contraſted with his own, are leſs able to give permanence and publicity to invective. The faults of an ex-miniſter, or aſpiring leader of a party, are leſs intereſting, to the community, than thoſe of the man who holds the reins of government. But the immediate reſult of Walpole's unpremeditated reply to this ſtudied attack, was a ſenſe of ſhame in the oppoſition Whigs, and of indignation in the principal Tories, which interrupted their cordial union. Several Whigs re-united themſelves to the miniſter, and the leading Tories, aſhamed of appearing the puppets of Bolingbroke, though they continued to thwart and oppoſe the meaſures of government, did not, of themſelves, bring forward any new queſtion during the remainder of the ſeſſion.

It

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. Unpopularity of Bolingbroke.

It may not perhaps be improper in this place to obſerve, that the ſenſation which Walpole's ſpeech made in the houſe of commons, and the effect which it had out of doors, in developing the intrigues of Bolingbroke with the oppoſition in England, and of laying open his cabals with foreign courts and miniſters, were the immediate cauſe, that he quitted this country, and retired to France. Pulteney, who ſaw and appreciated the fatal conſequences of his unpopularity among the Whigs, to which party he himſelf was always cordially attached, bitterly complained that Sir William Wyndham received too implicitly the dictates of Bolingbroke. With a view therefore to remove this ſtigma from oppoſition, he recommended to him a temporary retirement from England. Bolingbroke was extremely mortified, that all his repeated profeſſions of honour, virtue, and diſintereſtedneſs, did not gain credit; he found himſelf reduced to the moſt wretched ſituation which an aſpiring mind like his could ſuffer, that of being excluded from a ſhare in the legiſlature, and heading a party in continued oppoſition, without the ſmalleſt hopes of ever being reſtored to his ſeat in the houſe of lords. In his letters to Sir William Wyndham, he feelingly deſcribes his own ſituation, "I am ſtill," he ſays, "the ſame proſcribed man, ſurrounded with difficulties, expoſed to mortifications, and unable to take any ſhare in the ſervice, but that which I have taken hitherto, and which, I think, you would not perſuade me to take in the preſent ſtate of things. My

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My part is over, and he who remains on the ſtage after his part is over, deſerves to be hiſſed off." * Chapter 42. 1734.

In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, he waited until the meeting of the new parliament, when a large majority ſtill ſupporting the miniſter, during whoſe continuance in power he had no chance of obtaining a complete reſtoration, he followed the advice of Pulteney, and retired in diſguſt to France. Retires to France.

The adverſaries of the miniſter had taken advantage of the inflamed ſtate of the public mind, to circulate reports, both in their ſpeeches and writings, that the liberties of the ſubject were in danger, and that he had planned a regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which, if not reſiſted, would erect a deſpotic and arbi rary power on the ruins of the Britiſh conſtitution.

The ſpeech which Walpole compoſed for the king, on the diſſolution of the parliament, was calculated to counteract theſe reports, and to conciliate the public. It was full of ſentiments which none but a free nation could underſtand and appreciate; ſentiments which do honour to the miniſter who compoſed it, to the king who uttered it, to the parliam ent who heard it, and to the people who applauded it. Speech on the diſſolution of parliament.

"The proſperity and glory of my reign depend upon the affections and happineſs of my people, and the happineſs of my people upon my preſerving to them all the legal rights and privileges, as eſtabliſhed under the preſent ſettlement of the crown April 16th.

* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, Paris, November 29, 1735.—Correſpondence, Period III. Article Bolingbroke.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. crown in the Proteſtant line. A due execution and ſtrict obſervance of the laws, are the beſt and only ſecurity both to ſovereign and ſubject: their intereſt is mutual and inſeparable, and therefore their endeavours for the ſupport of each other ought to be equal and reciprocal. Any infringement or encroachment upon the rights of either is a diminution of the ſtrength of both, which, kept within their due bounds and limits, make that juſt balance, which is neceſſary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and proſperity of the people. What depends upon me, ſhall, on my part, be religiouſly kept and obſerved, and I make no doubt of receiving the juſt returns of duty and gratitude from them." *

CHAPTER THE FORTY-THIRD:

1733—1734.

View of Foreign Tranſactions from the Death of Auguſtus the Second to the Diſſolution of Parliament.—Succeſsful Hoſtilities of France, Spain, and Sardinia, againſt the Emperor.—Neutrality of the Dutch.—Cauſes which induced England to reject the Application of the Emperor for Succours.

IF any man ever deſerved the appellation of miniſter of peace, that man was Sir Robert Walpole. The foreign tranſactions of this eventful period will ſufficiently verify that aſſertion. Yet it cannot be denied, that peace itſelf may be dearly purchaſed by the dereliction of national honour, by the breach of treaties, by permitting the loſs

* Chandler, vol. 8. p. 248. Journals.

of

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of dominions to thoſe whom it is our intereſt to ſupport, and the aggrandiſement of thoſe whom it is our intereſt to depreſs. And it muſt be confeſſed, that if any cenſure can be juſtly thrown on the pacific ſyſtem adopted by Walpole, it muſt be thrown on the inactivity of England at this critical juncture; in her refuſal to aſſiſt the Emperor, againſt the united arms of France, Spain, and Sardinia; in ſuffering the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Bourbon to wreſt from the houſe of Auſtria, Naples, and Sicily; and, what was ſtill more hoſtile to the intereſts of Great Britain, in permitting the acceſſion of Loraine and Bar to France. For if it be allowed, that any merit is due for preſerving this country and Europe from a general War, that merit is due to Walpole; ſo on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that if any blame can be imputed to the cabinet for tameneſs and puſillanimity, that blame muſt alſo attach ſolely to him; as he alone ſtood forth in oppoſition to the king and part of the cabinet, and by refuſing to aſſiſt the Emperor, maintained his country in peace.

I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to a brief deduction of the facts and negociations which preceded and followed the death of Auguſtus the Second, interſperſed with ſuch obſervations as may tend to elucidate his conduct, and diſplay the motives that induced the miniſter of finance to abſtain from entering into offenſive operations againſt France, and to ſuffer the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Bourbon, and the depreſſion of the houſe

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

houſe of Auſtria; which proved afterwards ſo fatal to the intereſt of England, and of which we now experience the evil effects. In making this deduction, it is not my intention either to cenſure or to commend, but ſimply to ſtate the ſum and ſubſtance of the motives, which the papers in my poſſeſſion have enabled me to aſſign for his conduct.

Pacific ſtate of Europe.

For a term of twenty years, Europe had enjoyed an unexampled ſtate of tranquillity, only broken by petty hoſtilities between Spain and England in 1718 and 1727. This tranquillity had been owing to the temporary ſeparation between France and Spain, to the reciprocal intereſts of France and England in the maintenance of peace, and to the good intelligence between the two cabinets.

But the reconciliation between France and Spain, and the re-union of England and Auſtria, by the treaty of Vienna, had ſcarcely taken place, before the jealouſies between the two nations began to revive; their counſels were no longer guided by the ſame mutual good will and harmony. The efforts to give a king to Poland, on

February 1.

the death of Auguſtus the Second, the indignation of Elizabeth Farneſe againſt the Emperor, for having deceived her in not accompliſhing the marriage between her ſon, Don Carlos, and an archduchefs, and the diſputes which aroſe concerning the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma, kindled a war between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which would have become general, had

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had not Walpole prevented the diffuſion of hoſtilities. Chapter 43. 1733.

The death * of Auguſtus the Second had no ſooner been announced, than Louis the Fifteenth determined to ſupport the claims of his father-in-law to the crown of Poland, in defiance of the Emperor and Ruſſia, who favoured the elector of Saxony, ſon of the deceaſed monarch. He declared to all the foreign embaſſadors, that he would not ſuffer any power to oppoſe the freedom of election in Poland. This declaration implied, that he expected no oppoſition to be made to the election of Staniſlaus, becauſe the influence of France in Poland was ſo great, as to preclude the choice of any other candidate. And as Spain was prepared to act offenſively againſt the Emperor, and the king of Sardinia was on the point of concluding an alliance with France and Spain, Walpole had a difficult and delicate part to act. He was no leſs anxious than the Emperor or Ruſſia, to exclude Staniſlaus; and yet he was unwilling to offend France, by taking an open and active ſhare in his excluſion. He was no leſs zealous to promote the election of Auguſtus, in return for his guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction. But as he was determined to decline entering into a war, if

Conſequences of the death of Auguſtus the Second.

Conduct of France:

Of England.

* The ſubſtance of this chapter is taken from the diſpatches of Horace Walpole, lord Harrington, the duke of Newcaſtle, and Thomas Robinſon; Walpole, Orford, and Grantham Papers. Alſo from ſeveral papers drawn up by Horace Walpole, particularly, "Reflections on the preſent ſtate of affairs, October 8, 1733."—"Conduct of England, with regard to what has paſſed in Poland, ſince the death of king Auguſtus, and the tranſactions in other parts relative thereto, extracted from the correſpondence with his majeſty's miniſters in foreign parts," from February to November 1733. "Continuation of the Conduct, &c." from November 1733 to July 1734.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

if it could be declined with honour, his conduct evinced the moſt conſummate addreſs and prudence.

Although the aſſurances to ſecond the pretenſions of the elector, and to exclude Staniſlaus, were as ſtrong as words could expreſs; yet every declaration was avoided which ſeemed to imply, in the moſt diſtant degree, the co-operation of force. To the Czarina, who announced her inclination to unite with the king and the Emperor in filling the vacancy, and hoped that the choice would not fall on Staniſlaus, or any French prince, it was replied, that the king would uſe his endeavours for the election of an unexceptionable perſon, and would ſecond the Czarina's diſpoſition to ſecure the public tranquillity.

To the Emperor, who declared his reſolution to ſupport the freedom of election, according to the conſtitution of Poland, which expreſſions were conſtrued as meaning an excluſion of Staniſlaus, and who requeſted that the Engliſh miniſter at Warſaw might act in concert with him, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, every aſſurance was given, that the king of England approved the reſolution of promoting a new and free election in favour of an unexceptionable prince, and would forward the ſame deſign, as far as could be done by good offices. It was alſo urged that Mr. Woodward, the miniſter at Dreſden, ſhould contribute as much as poſſible to the ſame views; and if any complaint ſhould be afterwards made, that he had acted leſs warmly than might be expected againſt

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Chapter 43. 1733 to 1734.

Staniſlaus, he was to alledge, as an excuſe, the unwillingneſs of the king to give ſuch an offence to France, without advantage to himſelf or his allies, and the ſmall influence the king could expect to have in the affairs of that diſtant kingdom.

At the ſame time the king ordered his miniſter at Warſaw to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his affection and friendſhip towards that republic. He was to declare upon all occaſions, in the king's name, for a free election, in favour of any prince, who was not diſpleaſing to the neighbouring powers, and in whom the Poles might find a ſecurity for their liberties. He was to act in concert with the miniſters of the Emperor and the Czarina, and aſſiſt them in obtaining the election of Auguſtus; but he was to act with the utmoſt diſcretion and moderation, not to join in giving the excluſion to any perſon, except the Pretender or his children. He was to oppoſe Staniſlaus, but not in ſuch a manner as might give offence, though he need not conceal his wiſhes in favour of the party eſpouſed by the Emperor and his allies. If any encouragement was given to the Pretender, he was to proteſt againſt it, and leave the kingdom.

The Britiſh cabinet carried their caution on this occaſion to the higheſt degree of delicacy. The Imperial miniſters delivered to Mr. Robinſon * a paper, importing, that France appearing determined to break the peace, a rupture might be prevented by a ſtrict union between the Emperor and

* July 15, Walpole Papers.

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

and his allies. For this reaſon the Emperor deſired to concert meaſures with England and the United Provinces, either for deterring France, or for repelling hoſtilities. The Emperor, it was urged, had amply provided Luxemburgh, but the remaining part of the Netherlands ſhould be jointly ſecured, and the empire protected. The concurrence of the king of England was expected, becauſe he had *approved* all the meaſures and ſentiments adopted by the Imperial court, in regard to the Poliſh election. In reply to theſe inſinuations, Mr. Robinſon was ordered to obſerve, that this expreſſion might be underſtood as if the king had actually *approved* the excluſion of Staniſlaus by force, that ſuch an inſinuation ought not to paſs unnoticed, becauſe it was directly contrary to the moſt poſitive aſſurances, which had been tranſmitted from England to the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna; that the king was ſo far from having approved any deſign to commit hoſtilities in Poland, that he never could believe the Emperor had entertained ſuch a deſign, and that he had always declared for a free election. The truth of this ſtatement was acknowledged by the court of Vienna; and Mr. Robinſon was again directed to diſſuade them from purſuing ſuch meaſures as might cauſe diſturbances in Europe. Theſe ſtrong and repeated remonſtrances finally prevailed on the Emperor, not openly to employ force, but to leave that part to the Czarina.

July 24.

In conformity to the ſame principle, the Britiſh miniſters at Warſaw and Vienna expreſſed the diſappro-

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diſapprobation of the king, that the Imperial miniſter at Warſaw accompanied the Ruſſian embaſſador when he notified the reſolution of the Czarina to exclude Staniſlaus by force, and when the Emperor was ſolicitous to engage England in a treaty of mutual defence with Ruſſia, the anſwer of the king implied, that he was ready to conclude a treaty of friendſhip with the Czarina, but would not agree that it ſhould contain defenſive ſtipulations, or engagements to aſſiſt her, if ſhe ſhould be attacked in Europe on account of the tranſactions of Poland.

Election of Staniſlaus: April.

During theſe tranſactions, the election took place in Poland. The French party ſo far prevailed in favour of Staniſlaus, who in 1710 had been declared for ever incapable of being elected king of Poland, that a majority of the diet of convocation entered into a confederation to chooſe no one but a native, born of Roman Catholick parents, who poſſeſſed no ſovereignty out of Poland, and was not ſupported by any foreign troops beyond the frontiers. In conſequence of this reſolution, which was declaring in his favour, Staniſlaus ſecretly paſſed into Poland, made his appearance at Warſaw, and was choſen by the diet of election, which aſſembled on the 12th of September. Againſt this election, the Saxon party came forward, ſupported by a Ruſſian army which entered Warſaw without reſiſtance. The adherents of Staniſlaus were diſperſed, he himſelf fled to Dantzic, and the partizans of Auguſtus

Counter-election of Auguſtus.

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assembled at Wola, the plain of election near Warsaw, and proclaimed him king of Poland.

France, Spain, and Sardinia, declare war against the Emperor.

The indignation of Louis the Fifteenth, was not appeased by the professions of the Emperor, that he had not acted offensively against Stanislaus, because he had sent no troops into Poland; but arguing that the co-operation of his minister at Warsaw with the Russian and Saxon ministers, and the assembling of 6,000 men on the frontiers of Poland, were the same as if he had openly employed force, declared war against him, in conjunction with Spain and Sardinia.

Their successful operations.

The declaration of war on the part of the three allied powers, was followed by instant hostilities. The French army, under Marshal Berwick, took the fort of Kehl, and invaded Germany; another corps, under the count of Belle Isle, overran Loraine.

The Emperor claims the assistance of England.

Nov. 1 19

The Emperor, in a memorial delivered by Count Kinski, his embassador in London, claimed the succours stipulated by the last treaty of Vienna, and claimed them in a manner which shewed his conviction, that England could not in justice refuse them. In fact, he had many reasons to suppose that he should obtain the required assistance. For notwithstanding the precautions which the English cabinet had taken to dissuade the Emperor from using force in Poland, they at the same time secretly employed every effort to obtain the exclusion of Stanislaus, the validity of whose election the English minister at Warsaw refused

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refuſed to acknowledge. They had been highly instrumental in promoting the concluſion of the alliance between the Emperor and Auguſtus, by which the Emperor, in return for the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, promiſed aſſiſtance to procure his free nomination to the throne of Poland, in oppoſition to the partizans of Staniſlaus, and to ſupport him, if choſen, by force of arms. Chapter 43. 1733 to 1734.

The king was decidedly in favour of aſſiſting the Emperor; the queen, though deſirous of upholding the pacific ſyſtem of Walpole, did not venture to oppoſe his wiſhes; and lord Harrington, who, as ſecretary of ſtate, principally conducted the negotiation with the court of Vienna, was inclined to the ſame opinion.

In this criſis of affairs, Walpole ſtood in a very delicate ſituation, and was reduced to a diſagreeable alternative. On one ſide, he was to oppoſe the earneſt wiſhes of the king, to act in contradiction to the ſentiments of part of the cabinet, and at the ſame time to appear as if he was abetting the degradation of the houſe of Auſtria, and promoting the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Bourbon. On the other ſide, he was to plunge the nation into a war for the oſtenſible purpoſe of giving a king to Poland, in which England had no immediate concern, in oppoſition, perhaps, to the public opinion, and at the eve of a general election. But as he had for ſome time foreſeen that he ſhould be reduced to follow one of theſe diſagreeable alternatives, he had previouſly collected all Delicate ſituation of Walpole.

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the information neceſſary to regulate his deciſion, and to enable him to purſue that conduct which ſeemed liable to the feweſt inconveniences.

Improvidence of the Emperor.

The Emperor had been repeatedly exhorted to put the Auſtrian Netherlands in a ſtate of defence; from a certain apprehenſion, that unleſs that was effected, the barrier would be expoſed, and the Dutch ſo alarmed, from the danger of being overrun by the French, that they would never have the ſpirit to act with vigour, in co-operation with England. But inſtead of hearkening to theſe juſt remonſtrances, Luxemburgh was alone provided with the neceſſary means of defence; the fortifications in the other parts were left in a moſt defenceleſs ſtate, and the care of them conſigned to the Engliſh and Dutch; a care which, the greffier Fagell obſerved in a letter to Bruyninx, "The Dutch, not yet recovered from the expences of the late war, *could not*, and the Engliſh *would not* take upon themſelves."

The Emperor had alſo been repeatedly exhorted to conclude a defenſive alliance with the king of Sardinia, who was ſtrongly inclined to prefer his friendſhip to that of France and Spain; and his co-operation, which, inſtead of opening to the French the key of Italy, would have excluded them from that country, might have been obtained by trifling ſacrifices. But the emperor had, either from his uſual dilatorineſs, or from an unwillingneſs to cede any portion of the Milaneſe, declined engaging on his ſide ſo important an ally, until

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until it was too late; and Charles Emanuel* apologized to the king of England, that he had been reluctantly compelled, for his own safety and interest, to close with the offers of France and Spain, because the Emperor had refused to comply with his terms. In consequence of this imprudent neglect, and a total inattention to the common means of defence, his Italian dominions were incapable of resisting the inroads of the combined powers. Chapter 43. 1733 to 1734.

The situation of the United Provinces did not afford the smallest prospect of inducing them to engage in offensive operations. The leading men were offended with the king of England, for having given the princess Anne in marriage to the prince of Orange, without previous notice, and were suspicious that he was attempting to revive the office of stadtholder. The dread of being exposed to a French invasion, should they take an active part in favour of the Emperor, was so great, that the states general were inclined to accept the offers of France, to conclude a neutrality for the Austrian Netherlands, and to agree not to assist the Emperor, in consequence of any events which related to the Polish election. Repeated remonstrances had been ineffectually made from the British cabinet, against this precipitate measure. State of the United Provinces.

At length Walpole, anxious to obtain the co-operation of a power, without whom England could not venture to act, sent his brother Horace† to Mission of Horace Walpole to the Hague.

* Walpole papers. Letter from the King of Sardinia to George the Second, March, 1734. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole's Apology and Dispatches.

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to the Hague, though not in an official capacity, for the purpoſe of conciliating the leading men, over whom he had great influence, and of perſuading the ſtates general to adopt a more manly and

April 18, 1734.

deciſive conduct. On his arrival at the Hague, he found things in a very indifferent ſituation; the people in general were much diſſatisfied, not only with the conduct of the court of Vienna, but with that of England, upon a miſtaken notion, that the king was labouring, out of partiality to the Emperor, to force them into the preſent war, and was endeavouring to promote the intereſts of the prince of Orange, at the expence of the Dutch conſtitution.

The news of the miſſion of the miniſter's brother had an inſtantaneous effect in raiſing the hopes of the Imperial court*, and gave a convincing proof that the cabinet of London were ſerious in their wiſhes to aſſiſt the Emperor, if it could be done without endangering the ſecurity of England. It however had no other conſequences than to reſtore the confidence between the two nations, and to conciliate the leading men in Holland. For the Dutch were ſo diſpirited with the defenceleſs ſtate of the Netherlands, ſo diſguſted with the conduct of the Emperor, and ſo averſe to reſume the burthens of war, that he could not bring them to adopt vigorous meaſures, or to countenance the ſmalleſt hopes of joining in offencive operations.†

The

* Mr. Robinſon to Lord Harrington, May 11th, 1733. Grantham Papers.

† Journal of Horace Walpole. Walpole Papers.

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The internal ſituation of England was no leſs unfavourable to an immediate breach with France; a long period of peace and tranquillity had increaſed commerce, agriculture, and the reſources of the country. The landed proprietors were highly ſatisfied with the diminution of the land tax, the monied men were no leſs pleaſed with deferring the payment of the national debt, the Jacobites were daily decreaſing; the Tories, though perſonally hoſtile to the miniſter himſelf, began to experience the comforts of good order, derived from a ſettled government. Confidence in government had taken place of diſtruſt; and the ſtate of the country, both at home and abroad, exhibited the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of ſtability and credit. Walpole ſaw and appreciated theſe happy effects, derived from external peace and internal tranquillity; he was unwilling to riſk the unpopularity of impoſing new burthens; he was well aware that a war with France would renew the hopes and excite the efforts of the fallen party, and realiſe his conſtant prediction, that the crown of England would be fought for on Britiſh ground.

State of England.

The reſult which he drew from this combination of circumſtances and events was, that it would be highly imprudent to involve the country in hoſtilities, without the co-operation of Holland. He was fully convinced that the nation would not readily approve a war for a Poliſh election; and that parliament would not be inclined to grant ſufficient ſupplies for ſo chimerical and diſtant a project.

He

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Period V. 1730 to 1734. Prudence of Walpole.

He did not think it prudent, however, to oppoſe at once the decided opinion of the king, who was eager for a war. He inſinuated the neceſſity of temporiſing, till a new parliament was choſen, and the nation could be rouſed to a ſenſe of the danger which would ariſe from the aggrandizement of the houſe of Bourbon, and until the people were made capable of judging, that the only foundation upon which the liberties of Europe could ſubſiſt, was the indiviſibility of a power like the houſe of Auſtria, ſufficient to be oppoſed to the houſe of Bourbon*.

It was not however without great difficulty that he obtained the conſent of the king and cabinet to adopt a line of conduct, which appeared no leſs puſilanimous in itſelf, than oppoſite to the tenour of the laſt treaty concluded at Vienna. But he gained his point by firmneſs and perſeverance; by inculcating the neceſſity of mature deliberation, and of avoiding extremities till it ſhould appear that the meaſures were no leſs practicable than advantageous; and he conſidered it prudent to feel the pulſe of public opinion, which ought always to be conſulted in caſes of ſuch extreme importance as a declaration of war.

Anſwer to the Emperor.

In conſequence of this determination, an anſwer was returned to the requeſt of ſuccours, made by the Imperial court, to the following import, that the king was concerned to ſee the peace broken, and the Emperor attacked; that he had hitherto

* Mr. Robinſon to Mr. Pelham, Vienna, November 11, 1733. Grantham Papers.

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therto employed his beſt offices, though unſucceſſfully, to prevent the rupture, and would now uſe all poſſible means to accommodate matters. That the motives hitherto alledged for the commiſſion of hoſtilities, being founded upon Poliſh affairs, in which the king had taken no part, but that of uſing his good offices, it was far from being clear, that he was obliged, purely upon that account, to enter into the quarrel. That as to the demand of ſuccours, the king, though always ready to execute his engagements, and ſhew his particular friendſhip for the Emperor, muſt yet be ſatisfied that the demand was founded on poſitive engagements, before he involved his people in a war. He muſt therefore, carefully examine the allegations on both ſides, and conſult his allies, particularly the States General, and put himſelf in ſuch a poſture, as might enable him to provide effectually for his own ſecurity, and for the execution of his engagements.

Artful policy of the Emperor.

The Emperor, highly indignant at the backwardneſs of the cabinet, projected an expedient which ſeemed calculated to forward the accompliſhment of his views. Well knowing the averſion of England to the marriage between an archducheſs and a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, and the remonſtrances which had been made to him on that ſubject, not only during the time when he was at variance with England, but even lately by Mr. Robinſon, in the ſtrongeſt manner, on the mere rumour that ſuch a meaſure was in agitation; he affected to open a negotiation with Spain,

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Spain, to renew the propoſal of a marriage between his ſecond daughter and Don Carlos.

On the arrival of a courier from Vienna*, count Kinſki painted in the ſtrongeſt colours to the king, the great uneaſineſs and danger of the Emperor's ſituation; his inability to reſiſt ſingly the united arms of France, Spain, and Sardinia, and at the ſame time the little dependance to be placed upon the king of Pruſſia. He ſtated the unpromiſing conduct of ſeveral other princes of the empire, and the neutrality already accepted by ſome of them, together with the ſtrong indications of a reſolution and concert among ſeveral, even of the electors, to prevent the empire itſelf from taking any part; and laſtly, the deſpair of aſſiſtance from the States General. He concluded theſe repreſentations with inſiſting in the Emperor's name, that the king ſhould no longer defer explaining his intention, but ſhould immediately give a poſitive promiſe to come, the very next campaign, to his aſſiſtance; without this promiſe, he inſinuated, the Emperor muſt comply with the demands of Spain, in giving his ſecond daughter in marriage to Don Carlos, as the only means ſtill in his power, for extricating himſelf and family from their preſent difficulties, for preventing the deſtruction of the houſe of Auſtria, and for preſerving the equilibrium in Europe.

Defeated by Walpole.

This artful expedient, however, did not ſucceed. Walpole had not been ſo much alarmed on a former

* Continuation of the conduct of England, &c. January 1734. Walpole Papers.

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former occaſion, at the rumour of ſuch a marriage, as lord Townſhend and the other miniſters, and he now conceived that matters were conſiderably changed. He conjectured that the Emperor only threw out this inſinuation, with a view to alarm England, rather than with a determination to adopt the meaſure; and he was of opinion, that even if the Emperor ſhould be in earneſt, provided the eldeſt of the archducheſſes was affianced to the duke of Loraine, the marriage of the ſecond with Don Carlos would not be productive of great diſadvantages. In all events, to uſe his own expreſſions, "Circumſtances change; "things diſtant and uncertain muſt yield to "preſent and certain dangers *."

In conformity with theſe ſentiments, orders were immediately diſpatched to Mr. Robinſon, to explain to the Imperial court, the ſeveral reaſons which made it impoſſible for the king, even if the Emperor's claim of ſuccours was well founded, to come ſo ſoon as was expected to his aſſiſtance. He was at the ſame time to declare, that the king no longer oppoſed the marriage of the ſecond archducheſs with Don Carlos, it being repreſented to him as the only means left for retrieving the Emperor's affairs, by detaching Spain from France. Mr. Robinſon was, however, to inſiſt, that nothing ſhould be concluded in this affair, without the king's intervention, and that due precautions ſhould be taken for preventing the dangers that might

* Among the Orford Papers, I find ſome reflections on this ſubject, written by Sir Robert Walpole. They are without date or ſignature, but they were undoubtedly made at this period. See Correſpondence.

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might be apprehended to the liberties of Europe from ſuch an alliance; amongſt which, he was to inſinuate, that the marrying of the eldeſt archduchess to the duke of Loraine, under the guaranty of Spain, was looked upon as one of the moſt effectual ſecurities.

The king offers his mediation.

About the ſame time, finding the Dutch utterly averſe to encounter the burthens and dangers of a war, and anxious to prevent them from throwing themſelves into the arms of France, the miniſter enforced the abſolute neceſſity of acceeding to the neutrality, in compliance with their earneſt wiſhes. The king exhorted the Emperor to acquieſce in the neutrality for the Netherlands, and offered his mediation, in conjunction with the States General, to bring about an accommodation, and to reſtore peace.

Indignation of the Emperor.

The declaration in favour of the marriage, which was ſuppoſed to be ſo contrary to the wiſhes of the Engliſh cabinet, and the tender of good offices only inſtead of effectual ſuccours, ſo highly irritated the Emperor, that his anſwer to both theſe propoſitions, contained no leſs haughtineſs and ſpirit, than if the affairs of the houſe of Auſtria had been in the moſt proſperous ſituation.

The declaration concerning the marriage, made a ſimilar impreſſion on all the imperial miniſters. They treated the ſuppoſition, that the Emperor had ever entertained the leaſt thought of marrying his ſecond daughter to the duke of Parma, as injurious; they even affected to doubt that Kinſki had ever ſpoken in the manner imputed to him. And

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And in the anſwer which was delivered by the Emperor's order to Mr. Robinſon, upon the 18th of February, the Emperor declared, in the moſt ſolemn terms, that he never had any thoughts, nor ever would condeſcend to purchaſe peace on thoſe terms, and formally diſavowed Kinſki, and all others who might ever have given the leaſt hint of that kind, declaring his determined reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

In anſwer to the offer of good offices, the Emperor peremptorily rejected the propoſal of a neutrality for the Netherlands; declared his firm reſolution of ſupporting his cauſe by force of arms, and ſo far from temporiſing, he threatened the Dutch to remove the war into Flanders, by attacking France on the ſide of Luxemburgh.

Meeting of parliament.

With a view of rendering the interpoſition of England more effectual, and giving weight to the propoſal of good offices, Walpole had recourſe to his uſual method of preventive meaſures, and adopted the reſolution of putting the country in a reſpectable poſture of defence, tempering caution with ſpirit, and deliberation with energy. The ſpeech from the throne, on the opening of the ſeſſion, correſponded with theſe principles. After recommending the utmoſt prudence and precaution, and exhorting parliament to weigh and conſider circumſtances thoroughly, before a final determination was taken, to act in concert with the States General, and to avoid precipitate declarations; the king added, "In the mean time, I am perſuaded you will make ſuch proviſions as ſhall

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Period V. 1730 to 1734.

ſhall ſecure my kingdoms, rights, and poſſeſſions from all dangers and inſults, and maintain the reſpect due to the Britiſh nation: whatever part it may in the end be moſt reaſonable for us to act, it will, in all views, be neceſſary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourſelves in a proper poſture of defence. As this will beſt preſerve the peace of the kingdom, ſo it will give us a due weight and influence in whatever meaſures we ſhall take in conjunction with our allies. But ſhould the defence of the nation not be ſufficiently provided for, it will make us diſregarded abroad, and may prove a temptation and encouragement to the deſperate views of thoſe, who never fail to flatter themſelves with the hopes of great advantages from public troubles and diſorders *."

* Journals. Chandler.

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PERIOD THE SIXTH:

From the Diſſolution of Parliament, to the Death of Queen CAROLINE.

1734—1737.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FOURTH:

1734—1735.

Succeſsful Operations of the Allies.—Embaſſy of Horace Walpole to the Hague.—Indignation of the Emperor, and his Attempts to remove Walpole.—Origin, Progreſs, and Termination of the Secret Convention.—Renewal of Hoſtilities.—Fluctuating State of the Britiſh Cabinet.—Embarraſſments and Firmneſs of Walpole.

THE Emperor expoſed, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle ally, to the united arms of France, Spain, and Sardinia, was reduced to a moſt diſaſtrous ſituation. The Milaneſe was wholly ſubdued by the allied forces; the victory of Bitonto ſecured to Don Carlos the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily; and Mantua, the only poſſeſſion which remained to the Emperor in Italy, was threatened with a ſiege, and unable to hold out for any length of time. In Germany, the Imperial forces, though commanded by Eugene, were too inferior to reſiſt the operations of the French; the capture of Treves, Traerbach, and Philipſburgh, Succeſs of the allies. May 5.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. opened to the French the entrance into the Empire, and Eugene was compelled to act on the defensive.

Preparations in England. This disastrous situation of the Austrian affairs, alarmed the British cabinet, and though the minister was firmly resolved to avoid hostilities, yet he saw the immediate necessity of augmenting the forces, both in England and Holland, and to be at all events prepared for war.

The great object was, to secure the concurrence of the United Provinces, and to prevail on them to act in concert with England, that the mediation of the two maritime powers might be accepted by the Emperor, and respected by France and her allies.

Embassy of Horace Walpole to the Hague. July 27, 1734. In order to obtain the co-operation of Holland, Horace Walpole had been again dispatched to the Hague, with the character of embassador extraordinary, and had warmly pressed the States General to augment their forces; and although his representations had not been attended with due effect, yet he had considerably removed the jealousy and disagreement which had recently arisen between the two maritime powers, and gave hopes that his attempts might prove successful.

Remonstrances of the Emperor: While these transactions were passing between the king and the Republic, under the promise of inviolable secrecy on both sides, frequent memorials were presented by count Kinski, calling upon the king in the strongest manner, to fulfil his engagements towards the Emperor, by sending instantly the most effectual succours.

Although

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Although no ſpecific anſwer could be returned whilſt the negotiation at the Hague was depending, yet previous intimations had been given to the Imperial court, that no immediate aſſiſtance could be expected from England in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

But as ſoon as the negotiation was brought to a concluſion, and it was determined to make the offer of their joint mediation and good offices for an accommodation of the differences, Lord Harrington gave to count Kinſki, an account of this reſolution; and orders were tranſmitted to their miniſters at Paris and Madrid, to propoſe a general pacification through the mediation of the maritime powers. The Emperor received the notification communicated by Mr. Robinſon, with no leſs ſurpriſe than indignation, and his miniſter delivered in a ſtrong and pointed memorial. In this paper, the Emperor inſiſted on the rectitude of his own conduct and views, the inſincerity of France, and the wanton aggreſſions of the allies; claimed from the maritime powers effectual cooperation to inſure the guaranties ſtipulated by exiſting treaties, previous to his acceptance of their propoſed mediation, and added, he would never have acted as they had, and after a delay of nine months, offered his mediation inſtead of ſending aſſiſtance *.

His indignation againſt Walpole.

While the anſwer to this memorial was preparing in concert with the States General, the Emperor

* Reponſe de la cour Imperiale aux repreſentations de Meſſrs. Robinſon et Bruininx, 30 Juin, 1734. Walpole Papers.

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Emperor became indignant at the delay, and imputing the denial of ſuccours to the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, broke out into the moſt intemperate expreſſions againſt him. Totally unacquainted with the firſt principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, forming, from the accounts tranſmitted by count Kinſki, wrong notions of the king's power, and of the ſtate of parties, and knowing that George the Second was perſonally eager for the war, he entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes that the nation would be brought over to his opinion.

Under theſe impreſſions, he revived the chimerical plan which he had ineffectually adopted in 1726, of appealing to the nation againſt the miniſter. His embaſſador in London caballed with oppoſition; endeavoured to excite the ſympathy of the nation; threw the blame of his depreſſion on Sir Robert Walpole; appealed to the king's feelings, and to his inveterate hatred of the houſe of Bourbon, and endeavoured, by means of the Empreſs, to intereſt queen Caroline in his favour.

Theſe imprudent attempts did not eſcape the knowledge of Walpole. An intercepted letter from the Emperor to count Kinſki, fully developed the plan in agitation, and diſplayed the threats which Charles the Sixth was weak enough to ſuppoſe would alarm the miniſter, and compel him to act offenſively againſt France.

Attempts to effect his removal.

He even carried his reſentment ſo far, that he attempted to obtain the removal of Walpole, by means

means of a meddling emiſſary, who was ill calculated to ſucceed in ſo difficult an enterpriſe. Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735.

This emiſſary was Strickland, biſhop of Namur, by birth an Engliſhman, and by religion a Roman catholic. Warmly attached to the cauſe of the Pretender, he ſacrificed his country to his principles, and was promoted to the Abbey of Saint Pierre de Preaux, in Normandy. In the latter end of the reign of George the Firſt, he maintained a correſpondence with the oppoſition; and through their intereſt with the Emperor, he was raiſed to the biſhopric of Namur; he afterwards became a ſpy to the Engliſh miniſtry, and rendered himſelf ſo uſeful, that he was conſidered as a proper perſon of confidence to reſide at Rome, for the purpoſe of giving information with regard to the Pretender. With this view, lord Harrington * applied to the Emperor for his intereſt to obtain for him a cardinal's hat; and Mr. Robinſon was ordered to ſecond that recommendation with his whole influence. The biſhop being a man of an artful and intriguing turn, plauſible in his manner, and having gained great credit for his ſtrict regularity and diſintereſtedneſs in the management of his dioceſe, was admitted to ſeveral audiences of the Empreſs, and ſo far inſinuated himſelf into her good graces, that he was employed to thwart the marriage of the eldeſt archduchеſs with Don Carlos, to which ſhe had an inſuperable averſion. Character and cabals of the biſhop of Namur:

During

* Walpole and Grantham Papers. Mr. Robinſon to lord Harrington, September 8. To Horace Walpole, November 13, 1734. Correſpondence.

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During theſe audiences, he artfully inſinuated ſuch remarks on the miſmanagement of the Imperial miniſtry, as induced the Empreſs to obtain for him a private audience of the Emperor. He availed himſelf of this permiſſion to preſent ſeveral memorials, for the amelioration of the domeſtic affairs, which were well received by the Emperor, fond of new ſchemes, and inclined to think unfavourably of his miniſters. From theſe topics, he digreſſed to lord Harrington's recommendation, and repreſented himſelf as capable either of forcing the Britiſh adminiſtration to enter into the war, or if that failed of ſucceſs, of driving out Sir Robert Walpole, through the intrigues of oppoſition. The Emperor weakly acceded to this propoſal, and ſupplied the biſhop of Namur with private credentials to the king and queen of England. On his departure, he was inſtructed to take advantage of the decided inclination of the king to enter into the war, of the apparent lukewarmneſs of the queen to ſupport the pacific ſyſtem, and of the diſunion of ſentiments in the miniſtry.

The biſhop of Namur was received by the king and queen in ſo gracious a manner, as to give umbrage to Sir Robert Walpole. He had a long and ſecret conference with Lord Harrington *; reports were ſoon in circulation, that he would draw the nation into a war, and that he was privately ſupported by the king and queen, and abetted by lord Harrington; and that the fall of the miniſter would be the immediate conſequence.

It

* Orford Papers. Correſpondence.

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Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735. Counteracted by Walpole.

It became neceſſary to diſcredit theſe rumours. Horace Walpole hinted to lord Harrington his opinion of the biſhop, and the ill policy of appearing to countenance ſo dangerous a perſon. In the private correſpondence which he held with queen Caroline*, he alſo artfully repreſented the impropriety of giving ſuch a reception to a miſſionary who was ſo favourable to the oppoſition; he urged the neceſſity of not ſuffering a perſon of his ſuſpicious character to remain in England; and inſinuated that the Emperor ſhould be undeceived in his notion, that the king was of a different opinion from the miniſtry, and be poſitively informed that England could not take a part in the war. Walpole, in concert with his brother, ſupported this meaſure, and ſuggeſted to the queen, that ſhe ſhould herſelf write to the Empreſs†, to contradict the falſe accounts ſent by Kinſki and the biſhop of Namur, and candidly to declare that no ſuccours could be given by England, until the offer of the mediation had been rejected. The miniſter carried his point; the biſhop of Namur was civilly diſmiſſed; the king was either convinced of the neceſſity of adopting pacific meaſures, or yielded reluctantly to a plan which he could not venture to oppoſe. Lord Harrington ſubmitted to the ſuperior influence of Walpole; and the Emperor, with ſome heſitation, agreed to admit the

* Orford Papers. Letter to queen Caroline, October 18-29, 1734. Correſpondence.

† Correſpondence.

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the good offices, and to accept the mediation of the maritime powers.

Meanwhile, a ſecret negotiation was ſuddenly opened with France, which ſeemed at firſt to afford a proſpect of a ſpeedy accommodation, and on that account was eagerly embraced by Sir Robert Walpole, but which involved both him and his brother in conſiderable embarraſſments, excited, in the courſe of its progreſs, the diſpleaſure of the king, and occaſioned a temporary diſagreement among the miniſters.

Intimacy of Horace Walpole with baron Gedda.

Horace Walpole maintained an intimate correſpondence with baron Gedda, the Swediſh miniſter at Paris, for whom he procured an annual penſion of £.400; and as Gedda was on good terms with cardinal Fleury, and had communicated the private ſentiments of the French miniſter, Horace Walpole had, at the ſuggeſtion of his brother, found means to convey hints for a general accommodation.

Embarraſſing ſituation of the cabinet.

The ſituation of the Britiſh cabinet was exceedingly embarraſſing; being reproached on one ſide by the Emperor for not fulfilling the guaranty by declaring war, and on the other by France, for not being cordially diſpoſed to favour a peace, it became expedient to take a decided part. But the co-operation of the United Provinces was conſidered by the miniſter as a neceſſary means to inſure ſucceſs.

The diſpoſition of perſons and affairs in Holland was ſo timid and fluctuating, as to afford little

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little hope of terminating hoſtilities, unleſs France could be induced, of her own accord, to open a negotiation. For it was ſenſibly urged * by the embaſſador at the Hague, that although theſe conditions might not be ſuch as would be accepted by the Emperor, yet if they were once propoſed to him by England and the States General, he would be undeceived in his fond expectations, that thoſe powers would enter into the war for the purpoſe of recovering his dominions in Italy, and be inclined to turn his attention to ſome expedient for an accommodation.

Overtures of cardinal Fleury.

With this view, Horace Walpole, with the private approbation of his brother, employed the intervention of his friend at Paris, and finally obtained the object ſo much deſired. Baron Gedda acquainted him, that the cardinal, impreſſed with a deſire to give peace to Europe, propoſed to enter into a confidential correſpondence with him, for the purpoſe of ſettling the preliminaries for a general pacification, to be communicated to no one but the Penſionary Slingelandt †. This overture being conſidered by a part of the cabinet as tending only to amuſe, and as a ſnare employed by France, to prevent the adoption of vigorous meaſures, was at firſt warmly oppoſed; but being ſupported by queen Caroline and Sir Robert Walpole, and thoſe members of adminiſtration, who adhered to their opinion, it was immediately accepted;

* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, Auguſt 6, 1734. Correſpondence.

† Horace Walpole to the queen. Walpole Papers.

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cepted; a private correſpondence took place, and the cardinal propoſed to ſend a confidential perſon, by the name of Jannel, to the Hague, to ſettle and conclude the terms to which England or France would previouſly accede, before they were communicated on one ſide to the Emperor, and on the other to the allies of France.

Correſpondence with Horace Walpole.

This propoſition of Cardinal Fleury being approved by the cabinet, an intereſting correſpondence took place between him and Horace Walpole, concerning the previous conditions to be ſettled for adjuſting the preliminaries. The letters of the cardinal, and the anſwers of Horace Walpole, were tranſmitted to England for the approbation and direction of the king, and private accounts were regularly forwarded to Sir Robert Walpole.

Application and influence of Walpole.

During theſe tranſactions, Sir Robert Walpole beſtowed extraordinary pains on foreign affairs. Beſides holding a ſecret and conſtant correſpondence with his brother, and ſuggeſting, through his means, thoſe ſentiments with which he wiſhed to impreſs the queen, he examined with peculiar attention the diſpatches to and from the ſecretaries of ſtate; took notes, and made references of the moſt important letters; and although he diſpleaſed the king by his firmneſs in ſuggeſting pacific meaſures, and in ſome inſtances was ſecretly thwarted by lord Harrington, who acted in deference to the views of his ſovereign, yet he would not ſuffer any meaſure to be purſued without his approbation, and directed or controuled the whole ſeries of this intricate negotiation.

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In consequence of this confidential intercourse, Jannel arrived at the Hague on the 5th of November; continued there only three days, and had three very important conferences with Horace Walpole and the Pensionary, with such secrecy, that his arrival was not suspected, until he had taken his departure. Of these three conferences, Horace Walpole transmitted an accurate and well written account to the British cabinet. An arrangement was taken towards settling the preliminaries, in which the two parties, after proposing terms which could not be acceded to on either side, gradually approached each other, and seemed to be not very distant from the probability of coming to an amicable agreement. The terms proposed by Jannel, and opposed or assented to by Horace Walpole, were to be referred on one side to the cardinal, and on the other to the British cabinet.

Negotiation with Jannel at the Hague.

A plan for the preliminaries was now to be proposed by the cabinet, and forwarded to the Hague, for regulating the conduct of the embassador.

In order to engage England and Holland in the war, the Emperor had withdrawn all his troops from the barrier towns, and confined himself to the defence of Luxemburgh. He represented that it was more the interest of the maritime powers than his own, to preserve the Low Countries from France, and therefore he should leave to them the care of their defence. This resolution had been privately taken without the knowledge of Walpole,

Walpole enforces pacific measures.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Walpole, in concert with the king and lord Harrington, who were no leſs anxious than the Emperor to commence hoſtilities againſt France. In conſequence of this reſolution, a plan was drawn up by lord Harrington*, to be forwarded to Horace Walpole. It was worded in a moſt artful manner, and appeared to have no other deſign than to preſerve the Low Countries from France. The embaſſador was ordered to inſinuate to the Dutch, that if they would authoriſe the king to aſſure the Emperor of their deſign to augment their forces, his majeſty would endeavour to prevail on the Emperor to ſend, without delay, a ſufficient number of men from the Rhine for the defence of the Low Countries; and that the king, at the requiſition of the Dutch, according to the tenour of the barrier treaty, would ſupply 10,000 men, provided they would furniſh an equal number.

This diſpatch, before it was ſent to the Hague, was forwarded by a meſſenger to Sir Robert Walpole, who was then at Houghton, for his approbation. The miniſter highly diſapproved the meaſure, and thought it neceſſary to expreſs his diſapprobation in ſuch ſtrong terms, that lord Harrington totally relinquiſhed his deſign. In his anſwer to Walpole, he teſtified his concern that the draught which he propoſed to write to Horace Walpole concerning the Netherlands, was ſo ſtrongly

* Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, Whitehall, November 5-16th, 1734. Correſpondence.

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strongly condemned *. "The letter itself," he added, "is not sent." Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735.

Firm and prudent conduct of Walpole.

Soon afterwards, lord Harrington drew up, by order of the king, a plan for the preliminaries, which was calculated to throw obstacles in the way of the negotiation with France, and to check the eagerness of Horace Walpole, for immediately modifying and closing with the propositions of cardinal Fleury. These instructions were to be forwarded to the Hague, in a letter to the embassador, by which he was to be implicitly guided in this delicate business †. He prepared this letter on the 12th of November, but as it was an affair of too great importance to be precipitately decided without the concurrence of the minister, who was then at Houghton, he dispatched a messenger with a letter, enclosing a copy, and requesting his opinion. This plan met with no less disapprobation than that which related to the Netherlands; and Walpole was never engaged in a more difficult or delicate part. Although he well knew that to disapprove or alter it, was in effect to act in direct contradiction to the sentiments and wishes of the king, yet he did not hesitate to adopt that resolution. He considered the plan as wholly formed by lord Harrington; and in a very frank and candid manner, gave his objections, without attempting in the smallest degree to conceal, or even to palliate his opinion. And perhaps in no instance were the

* Sidney Papers. November 8th, 1734. Correspondence.

† Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, November 12, 1734. Lord Harrington to Sir Robert Walpole, November 13, 1734. Correspondence.

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the integrity, prudence, and firmneſs of Walpole more evident, than in the anſwer which he returned to lord Harrington on this occaſion *.

Secret convention.

In the middle of December, Jannel returned to the Hague, and the conferences were reſumed: The conſequence of theſe meetings was, a project of pacification concerted between England and the States, as conformable as poſſible to the ſentiments and deſires of France, as they were explained by the cardinal in his private correſpondence with Horace Walpole and the Penſionary, and which ought to have been ſigned at the Hague by Jannel. But as the French miniſters had protracted the negotiation, by raiſing new demands, and creating freſh difficulties, it was thought expedient to ſatisfy the expectation and impatience of Europe, by publiſhing the plan.

Accordingly, the king in his ſpeech, which he delivered at the opening of the new parliament, obſerved, "that in a ſhort time, a plan would be offered to the conſideration of all the parties engaged in the preſent war, as a baſis for a general negotiation of peace, in which the honour and intereſt of all parties had been conſulted, as far as the circumſtances of time, and the preſent poſture of affairs would permit †."

Inſincerity of Fleury.

The French miniſters affected to be diſſatisfied with this proceeding; they pretended that it was a breach of that ſecrecy which had been promiſed, and

* Sir Robert Walpole to lord Harrington, November $\frac{1}{12}$, 1734. Correſpondence.

† Journals. Chandler, vol. 9. p. 3.

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and remonſtrated, that this haſty publication of the conditions for a general peace, would entirely fruſtrate the good intentions of France, by alarming the allies. At the ſame time, Jannel, inſtead of ſigning the project of the preliminaries, according to the repeated aſſurances of cardinal Fleury, received a new counter project, and freſh inſtructions, which the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters at the Hague could not agree to, and from which he could not venture to recede. Thus this important negotiation, which had employed ſix months, and had been conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, was ſuddenly ſuſpended. Jannel quitted the Hague, charged with expoſtulatory letters to the cardinal, on the unexpected miſcarriage of this great work, which was expected to give peace to Europe; and on the following day, Horace Walpole ſet out for London, carrying with him the unſigned project of pacification, which had been concerted with the miniſters of the Republic.

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The principal articles of this project were, the abdication of Staniſlaus, on the condition of retaining his title; the evacuation of Poland by the Ruſſian Troops; the ceſſion of Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, and of the Tortoneſe, Novareſe, and Vigevenaſco to the king of Sardinia. To the Emperor: the reſtoration of all the other conqueſts, the immediate poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, and the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany, except Leghorn, which was to be created an independant republic; France to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction;

Articles of the convention.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. tion; Spain and Sardinia to renew their guaranties. This plan to be considered as the basis of an immediate negotiation for a general peace, and an armistice to be strenuously recommended by the mediators.

The Emperor having testified his inclination to accept this plan, though he afterwards attempted to make some alterations which were inadmissible, it was presented in form to the respective ministers of the Emperor, France, Spain, and Sardinia. The Earl of Waldegrave returned to Paris, with instructions to press the cardinal in the strongest manner to confirm and support this project, according to the most solemn assurances which he had given in his private correspondence with Horace Walpole. But his representations were not attended with effect. The opinion of lord Harrington, which had been confirmed by the earl of Waldegrave in his former dispatches from Paris, that France was insincere in these overtures, and only intended to deceive the British cabinet, proved true, and Sir Robert Walpole was the dupe of his pacific inclinations.

Irresolution of Holland. The real cause of this failure was derived from the irresolution and inactivity of the Dutch, of which Chauvelin, who either governed or influenced the cardinal, availed himself, to prevent the conclusion of the secret convention with England.

Policy of Chauvelin. "One of the fundamental principles of Chauvelin's politics," observes Horace Walpole, in a letter

letter to lord Harrington, "was to ſeparate, if poſſible, the States from England. The baſis of all his meaſures when he entered into the war, was founded upon this principle; and his language and exertions have been from time to time more or leſs violent and haughty, in carrying it on, according to the appearance of a diviſion or union between the king and the States; and by this ſame rule or compaſs, he has dexterity enough to ſteer the cardinal's pliant temper, or to adapt his own ſentiments to the cardinal's, whenever he finds the old gentleman's vigour, from an apprehenſion of the maritime powers taking jointly a ſhare in this war, begin to ſwerve and incline to peace." Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735. September 4.

In the preſent circumſtances, Chauvelin well knew the Dutch could never be induced to enter into the war, as long as they had no apprehenſions for the ſafety of the Netherlands; and although the Penſionary expreſſed, in a letter to the cardinal, his ſentiments in ſtrong and lively terms in favour of the project, with a view to ſupport and add weight to the repreſentations of Horace Walpole; yet the effect of his letter was fully counterbalanced by the report made by Fenelon, the French embaſſador at the Hague, of the profound tranquillity in Holland, and of the determined reſolution of the Dutch not to engage in hoſtilities.

The Britiſh cabinet now rouſed itſelf from its pacific lethargy, and Walpole himſelf was foremoſt in recommending and enforcing the neceſſity Active preparations in England.

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of making the moſt active exertions. Two motions, warmly ſupported by him, were carried in the houſe of commons, though not without great oppoſition *, for taking 30,000 ſeamen and 26,000 ſoldiers into pay, in addition to 12,000 men in Ireland, and 6,000 Danes, according to the ſubſidiary treaty with Denmark.

While theſe augmentations were making with unuſual vigour, it was determined to lay before the States General the ſtrongeſt repreſentations, for the pupoſe of ſtimulating them to ſimilar exertions, though all hopes of effecting a general accommodation were not abſolutely relinquiſhed. Horace Walpole was directed to take Paris in his route to the Hague, to expoſtulate with the cardinal on his evaſive conduct, to induce him if poſſible to ratify the terms to which he had conſented, if he did not ſucceed in that effort, to endeavour at leaſt to procure an armiſtice; and at all events to obtain the final ſentiments of France, that at his return to the Hague, he might be able to concert proper meaſures with the States.

Horace Walpole expoſtulates with cardinal Fleury.

Horace Walpole purſued the object of his miſſion with no leſs ſpirit than addreſs. In a long conference with the cardinal, he explained the motive and purport of his miſſion, recapitulated the riſe, progreſs, and iſſue of the ſecret negotiation, obviated the principal objections which had been urged by the cardinal in his laſt letters, and ſupported each article of the project of pacification, which Jannel ought to have ſigned at the Hague, he

* 256 to 183, and 261 to 208. Chandler.

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he ſtated, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the fatal conſequences which might reſult from his refuſal to fulfil his promiſe, and preſſed him to a ſpeedy conſent to the plan and armiſtice. The cardinal, in reply, pleaded the impoſſibility of compliance, by reaſon of the general outcry of the French nation, council of ſtate, and allies againſt the plan, as partial and diſhonorable; he particularly repreſented the impropriety of the demand, that France ſhould guaranty the pragmatic ſanction, without any advantage in return; and aſſerted that Tuſcany, with Parma and Placentia, in addition to the Milaneſe, would render the Emperor more formidable in Italy than he was before the rupture: he alſo hinted at the danger of diſobliging Spain, and of compelling her to conclude a ſeparate accommodation with the Emperor.

To theſe objections, Horace Walpole anſwered with ſuch addreſs and force, and alarmed the cardinal ſo much, by declaring that the miſcarriage of the negotiation would be followed by a general war, or a family alliance between the courts of Madrid and Vienna, that he brought him in appearance to approve an armiſtice, for ſetting on foot an immediate negotiation, and to promiſe to uſe his influence with the king of Sardinia, and by this means to force Spain to accede. He alſo expreſſed his willingneſs, that France and the maritime powers ſhould ſign a declaration, engaging to promote, by a ſecret and confidential concert, the concluſion of a peace, on the conditions regulated in the late correſpondence. His approbation

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was even carried ſo far, that when Horace Walpole, produced a project of a declaration, conſonant to the cardinal's new propoſitions and wiſhes, he expreſſed his readineſs to take it into conſideration, and promiſed to exert his whole influence to bring the great work to a happy concluſion *.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ſolemn aſſurances, he either had not power, or wanted inclination to fulfil his promiſe; he ſoon after obſerved, that the project laid before the king of France, was deemed inadmiſſible, and that the article of the armiſtice, if ratified, would cover France with ſhame, and deprive her of all her allies.

It was now evident that the cardinal could no longer abide by his declarations of diſintereſtedneſs, and that he was endeavouring to ſuggeſt ſome artful means, by which he could contradict his own aſſertions, that France required nothing for herſelf. It was plain, though he did not venture to avow it, that Loraine was the object of her wiſhes, and that as long as the allies continued to be ſucceſsful againſt the Emperor, and England and Holland did not take an active and manly part, the ſtrongeſt repreſentations would have no effect.

In vain therefore Horace Walpole reproached the cardinal with the duplicity and weakneſs of his conduct; in vain he renewed his inſtances for a ſuſpenſion of arms, and repreſented the fatal conſequences which would probably reſult from his refuſal; in vain he threatened to publiſh an account

* Horace Walpole's Diſpatches to the duke of Newcaſtle, and to Penſionary Slingelandt, April 4th and 6th, 1735. Walpole Papers.

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count of the whole tranſaction, and expoſe him to the world. Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735.

The cardinal was abaſhed and confounded, but not in the leaſt convinced, or moved to compliance. Although he affected earneſtly to deſire that a plan of pacification ſhould be formed and ratified, yet he could not be induced to explain himſelf, either on the terms or the method, and delivered his ſentiments in ſo confuſed and inarticulate a manner, that the Britiſh embaſſador could collect nothing but vague promiſes, without any ſpecific propoſals. Horace Walpole accordingly departed from Paris, leaving the negotiation in the ſame ſtate in which he found it on his arrival.

Application to the States Generals

Lord Harrington in this inſtance ſpoke the unanimous language of the Britiſh cabinet, when in his inſtructions to Horace Walpole *, he painted in the ſtrongeſt terms, the king's concern and indignation at the cardinal's late conduct towards him and the States. He obſerved that this conduct, whether the effect of artifice or irreſolution, made it equally unwiſe and inexcuſable to rely, without being at the ſame time well provided againſt all events, upon any future tranſaction with the cardinal, for bringing about a termination of the preſent troubles, which threatened to ſubvert the balance of Europe. He ſaid, the time was now come, in which it was indiſpenſably incumbent

* Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, 15th April, 1735.

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Period VI. '34 to 1737. cumbent upon the maritime powers to defend the liberties of Europe; and to loſe no time in putting themſelves into a condition to act with vigour, whenever they ſhould find it neceſſary: He added, that the king hoped the ſtates would immediately make the proper augmentation of their forces, as he had himſelf done, by ſea and land, in order to diſabuſe France and her allies in their preſumption upon the ſupineneſs of the republic, and to be in readineſs to take ſuch meaſures, in concert with England, as the preſervation of their own, and the liberties of Europe might require.

ineffectual. In vain Horace Walpole ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in purſuit of theſe inſtructions. The recollection of the haughty and unfriendly conduct of the Imperial court; of the defection of England, at the peace of Utrecht, without ſecuring a ſufficient barrier to the States; their jealouſy of the prince of Orange, increaſed by his late marriage with the princeſs Anne; a total diſregard for the loſſes of the Emperor in Italy, which they did not conſider as their immediate concern, and the ſecurity of the Low Countries, by the convention of neutrality concluded with France on the firſt appearance of a rupture, contributed to prevent the Dutch from taking any part in the war. Theſe reſolutions were fortified by the melancholy conſideration of the exhauſted and diſtreſſed ſtate of the republic; by an opinion, generally prevalent in Holland, of the cardinal's pacific diſpoſition, and of the moderation of France; and particularly by the apprehenſion of confirming the Emperor

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peror in his ſuppoſed averſion to peace, by any appearance of vigour. Accordingly the States, inſtead of taking an active part, renewed their inſtances to the reſpective powers, for a favourable anſwer to the plan of pacification. Chapter 44. 1734 to 1735.

The Emperor was unwilling to agree to the previous conditions, unleſs the maritime powers engaged, ſhould theſe conditions not be accepted by the allies, to commence hoſtilities; but they declined taking upon them this engagement, becauſe they ſuſpected that the Emperor would throw obſtacles in the way of the pacification, for the purpoſe of bringing on a general war, which was the great object of his wiſhes. The Emperor behaved peeviſhly to England, and preſumptuouſly to the States, who were diſſatisfied with him, and ſuſpicious that England was acting in concert with him to their prejudice. Impediments to the negotiation.

The ſituation of affairs in Holland inſpired cardinal Fleury with ſufficient reſolution to urge, in a private letter to Horace Walpole, a heavy accuſation againſt him and the Penſionary, for having divulged the ſecret correſpondence, and to juſtify himſelf in his refuſal to comply with the conditions of the plan; and he added, that the publication of the plan had raiſed ſuch indignation in the whole council, that he could not venture to avow or eſpouſe it. The main view of this letter was to cloſe the ſecret correſpondence with Horace Walpole; to ſerve as a preliminary to the anſwer of the allies, who rejected the terms of pacification propoſed by the maritime powers, Hoſtilities renewed. April 30.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

and to juſtify another campaign, which was opened with redoubled exertion.

Thus ended this important negotiation, in which cardinal Fleury, or rather Chauvelin, who governed the cardinal, deceived the Britiſh cabinet, lured the Dutch with the hopes of a pacification, and prevented them both from taking ſuch vigorous meaſures as would have ſtopped the allies in the career of conqueſt.

Motives of Fleury's conduct.

Yet cardinal Fleury does not ſeem to deſerve the reproaches for duplicity which were now laviſhed upon him. We are too apt to eſtimate the conduct of other nations, from what paſſes in our own, without duly conſidering the peculiar ſituation and circumſtances of thoſe with whom we are negotiating, and without knowing the real ſtate of the public opinion, which every miniſter, even in the moſt deſpotic countries, is in ſome meaſure obliged to conſult. The real truth ſeems to be, that the Engliſh cabinet expected terms from France which could not be complied with; that cardinal Fleury was probably ſincere in his firſt overtures for peace, but was perſuaded by the repreſentations of Horace Walpole, who had gained great aſcendancy over him during his embaſſy at Paris, to accede to conditions, which he could not afterwards venture to propoſe to the king and council of France. That on ſober reflection, he conceived it highly diſhonourable in Louis the Fifteenth to deſert Staniſlaus, in ſupport of whom the war had been undertaken, merely to obtain the transfer of ſome dominions in

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in Italy to Don Carlos and the king of Sardinia, without either effecting this object, taking vengeance on thoſe who prevented it, or obtaining ſome acquiſition which might ſerve as an indemnity for the expences of the war, and juſtify to the people in France, the dereliction of the cauſe for which hoſtilities had been undertaken.

Objects of the allies.

The object of Spain was to drive the Emperor from Italy; the king of Sardinia expected the whole Milaneſe; while France, under the maſk of moderation and profeſſions of diſintereſtedneſs, aimed at the acquiſition of Loraine.

Fluctuating ſtate of the Engliſh cabinet.

To reconcile ſuch jarring intereſts, and to effect a general pacification, was not in the power of a divided cabinet, whoſe meaſures fluctuated with continued verſatility. Orders were occaſionally given by lord Harrington, in conformity to the ſentiments of the king, and contrary to thoſe of the firſt miniſter. Theſe orders were ſometimes oppoſed, or at leaſt ſecretly counteracted by Walpole; either by himſelf, in his perſonal conferences with the king and queen, or by means of the ſuggeſtions made by Horace Walpole, in his private correſpondence with the queen, or by the agency of the duke of Newcaſtle, who at this period was devoted to him. Various inſtructions were conveyed to the foreign miniſters, each contrary to the other, as the inclinations of the king and lord Harrington in favour of war, or the pacific ſentiments of the firſt miniſter, gained the aſcendancy.

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Displeasure of the king.

The king was highly displeased with the refusal of the minister to enter into the war, and gave such unequivocal signs of his displeasure, that queen Caroline could not venture to attempt openly to promote or justify his measures. But with a view to exculpate his conduct, she artfully threw the blame on Horace Walpole, whom she often rallied in the king's presence as the principal cause of the inactivity of England, and hinted that his brother had been directed by his advice, influence, and known interference in foreign affairs*.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIFTH:

1735—1736.

Event of the general Elections.—Meeting of the new Parliament.—Proceedings.—Prorogation.—Difference between Spain and Portugal—adjusted by the armed Mediation of England.—Progress of Hostilities between the Allies and the Emperor.—Detail of the various Negotiations which led to the Conclusion of the Preliminaries.—King's Speech.—Unanimity of Parliament, in regard to Foreign Affairs.

THE minister and his friends laboured under great disadvantages, and had many difficulties to encounter in the management of the general elections. The inactivity and neutrality of England, became a matter of popular infamy; and even men of professed impartiality, severely censured Walpole, by whose influence the inclinations of the king and the cabinet to assist the house of Austria were restrained. The common topics

* Horace Walpole's Apology. Walpole Papers.

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topics of want of ſpirit, and the dereliction of national honour, had great effect in exciting diſcontents, while the advantages derived from the continuance of peace to trade, manufactures, and agriculture, being tacitly progreſſive, did not immediately attract public attention, or procure their deſerved applauſe. The rapid ſucceſs of the French and Spaniſh arms, and the humiliation of the houſe of Auſtria, increaſed the national diſſatisfaction. But above all, the exciſe ſcheme had excited ill humour and violent clamours, and it was imprudently introduced a ſhort time before the diſſolution of parliament. It was particularly offenſive in Scotland, where the frauds in the cuſtoms were more extenſive than in England. The greater part of the Whigs in Scotland were irritated againſt the court, and a large number manifeſted their diſſatisfaction, in the manner of their oppoſition on the election of the ſixteen peers. Several of the Preſbyterians were averſe to the miniſter for the continuance of the teſt act, the repeal of which, notwithſtanding repeated declarations of his private good wiſhes, he had never promoted.

Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

Walpole embarked in ſupport of his friends in many expenſive conteſts, and expended a large ſum out of his own private fortune*. The expences of the conteſted election for the county of Norfolk amounted to £. 10,000, and yet he failed of ſucceſs. The two candidates, Morden and Coke, who ſtood for the Whig intereſt, and whom he

* Etough ſays £. 60,000.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. he ſupported, were ſupplanted by Bacon and Woodhouſe, who were favoured by the Tories. In conſequence of theſe difficulties and defeats in his own county, the return of members who ſupported his adminiſtration was inferior in number to thoſe who ſat in the laſt parliament.

The new parliament aſſembled on the 14th of January. The ſpeech from the throne alluded to a plan, formed in concert with Holland, as a baſis for a general negotiation; mentioned the treaty with Denmark; and concluded by obſerving, that while war was raging in Europe, it would be proper for Great Britain to maintain herſelf in a poſture of defence.

The oppoſition to the addreſs, in both houſes, was vehement and formidable. The amendments propoſed by oppoſition, were ſupported with great ability, and the diviſions of the anti-miniſterial party were in the upper houſe 37 againſt 87, and in the commons 185 againſt 265.

During this ſeſſion few debates of importance occurred, and none which perſonally affected the miniſter. Although he permitted ſeveral motions, made by oppoſition, to paſs without a diviſion, and in the conteſted elections as many were carried againſt as for adminiſtration, yet the material points propoſed by government were carried. The ſubſidiary treaty with Denmark was approved; £.794,529 was granted for the land ſervice, and 30,000 ſeamen were voted.

The attention of the houſe of lords was occupied by a petition from ſeveral Scotch peers, complaining

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plaining of undue influence in the election of the sixteen. The minister was accused of engaging votes by various acts of corruption, and of overawing the electors by the presence of troops. The principal persons who conducted this attack, were those who had been deprived of their places, but though it was managed with great address and asperity, it terminated in his favour. The strength of the opposition was proved by the smallness of the majority, which on the first division was 90 against 47, and on the second, 73 against 39. Two violent protests were entered, the first signed by 33, the second by 32 peers *.

The session was closed by prorogation on the 15th of May, when the king, in his speech from the throne, expressed his intention of visiting his German dominions, and appointing the queen regent during his absence, of whose just and prudent administration, he had on the like occasion had experience. "Let me," he concluded, "earnestly recommend it to you to render the burthen of this weighty trust as easy to her as possible, by making it your constant study and endeavour, as I am sure it is your inclination, to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to discountenance and suppress all attempts to raise groundless discontents in the minds of my people, whose happiness has always been and shall continue my daily and uninterrupted care †."

The secret correspondence with cardinal Fleury was scarcely closed, when a dispute between Spain and

* Lords' Debates. † Chandler. Journals.

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and Portugal brought on another ſeries of intricate negotiations, and threatened to ſpread ſtill wider the horrors of war *.

Affairs of Portugal.

John the Fifth, king of Portugal, had eſpouſed the archduchefs Mary Ann, ſiſter of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and his connection with the houſe of Auſtria, had increaſed the hatred which his family bore to France. For ſome time after the peace of Utrecht, a great coolneſs had taken place between him and Philip the Fifth, the natural conſequence of ſituation and connections. At length their jealouſy and rivalſhip in ſome meaſure ſubſided, and the two courts were reconciled by a double marriage between Ferdinand, prince of Aſturias, and Barbara, infanta of Portugal, and between Joſeph, prince of Braſil, and the infanta of Spain. But this marriage did not long operate in preſerving harmony, and a diplomatic diſpute nearly produced an open rupture.

Diſpute with Spain.

The ſervants of Don Cabral de Belmonte, the Portugueſe miniſter at Madrid, being accuſed of violently reſcuing a malefactor from the officers of juſtice, were arreſted and carried to priſon. The miniſter having complained of this inſult, as an infraction on the law of nations, was warmly ſupported by his court: at the ſame time the Spaniſh embaſſador at Liſbon, demanded ſatisfaction

* The ſubſtance of the remaining part of this chapter is principally taken from the ſame documents as the forty-fourth, from a ſecond continuation of the paper, intitled, "Conduct of England, &c." from July to December 1734, and from "A Summary Deduction of the Courſe of Public Affairs, from the Delivery of the Project of Accommodation by the Maritime Powers, to their Approbation of the Vienna Preliminaries," from February 1735 to January 1736. Walpole Papers.

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faction for the behaviour of the Portugueſe mi- Chapter 45. 1734 to 1736.
niſter, but inſtead of obtaining redreſs, he had the mortification of ſeeing nineteen of his own domeſtics arreſted and ſent to priſon; and as neither court would give the ſatisfaction reciprocally demanded, the two miniſters retired from their reſpective embaſſies, and both nations prepared for immediate hoſtilities.

Claims the aſſiſtance of England.

Don Azevedo, envoy from the king of Portugal, arrived at London, to ſolicit, by virtue of the ſubſiſting treaties, and particularly that of 1703, the aſſiſtance of England, in favour of the king of Portugal, againſt an attack which he apprehended from Spain. To this demand the king returned for anſwer, that he would, agreeably to the honour of his engagements, immediately, in conjunction with the States General, interpoſe his good offices, and that in the mean time, to ſecure Portugal from any hoſtile attempt, eſpecially againſt the Brazil fleet, which was then upon its return, a ſtrong ſquadron ſhould be ſent to Liſbon; adviſing the king of Portugal at the ſame time to ſhew a readineſs in bringing this diſpute to an accommodation.

Inclined to the Emperor.

This advice was by no means acceptable to the king of Portugal: he had ſeen with a jealous eye the recent ſucceſſes of the Spaniards in Italy; he had beheld, not without regret, an advantageous peace which Philip had lately concluded with the Moors, and he expected, perhaps, that Spain would again revive pretenſions on Portugal, which, notwithſtanding all renunciations, had never been ſincerely

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. sincerely relinquished. During the war he had uniformly espoused and approved the conduct of the Emperor; and persons of all ranks and distinctions in Portugal, had expressed their wishes in favour of the same cause. He was still farther exasperated against the court of Madrid, by the repeated complaints of his favourite daughter Barbara, of the ill treatment which she received from the queen of Spain. These concurrent circumstances roused the resentment of John the Fifth, a prince of great spirit; and his violent temper was irritated to such a degree, that he was eager to commence hostilities against Spain, and warmly solicited both the king of England and the Emperor to conclude an offensive alliance. He said * to lord Tyrawley, the British embassador at Lisbon, the time was now arrived to reduce Philip to reason; that so favourable an opportunity would never again occur; Spain was left in so defenceless a state by the numerous armies employed in Italy, that a small number of Portuguese would overrun the country without opposition; and that the British fleet would prevent the return
April 17. of the Spanish troops from Italy. His confidential ministers publicly declared, that if manifestos from the prince of Asturias were dispersed, inviting the Spaniards to shake off the tyranny of the queen, and the incapacity of the king, the whole kingdom would rise in his favour; and with a view to induce England to embrace this measure, it was urged,

* Walpole Papers. Lord Tyrawley to the duke of Newcastle, May 19, 1735.

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urged, that if the attempt of the prince of Aſturias ſucceeded, Philip would be compelled to recal his troops from Italy, for the defence of his own kingdom; and that the force of the allies being weakened, that the Imperial troops might again acquire the aſcendancy, and the houſe of Bourbon be fruſtrated in its attempts to lower the houſe of Auſtria. Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

Theſe negotiations concerning the diſputes between Spain and Portugal, were neceſſarily blended with thoſe between the Emperor and the allies. The Emperor received the offers of Portugal with avidity, and gave unbounded promiſes of the moſt effectual aſſiſtance; truſting that if hoſtilities ſhould take place between Spain and Portugal, England would be drawn into the quarrel, and a general war would be the unavoidable conſequence. So great was the difficulty of reconciling two courts, both remarkable for pride and etiquette, and two ſovereigns equally intemperate in their anger, and ſo impoſſible did it appear to foreſee the conſequences or controul the events, that a general and bloody war ſeemed almoſt inevitable. Affairs wore ſo gloomy an aſpect, that Horace Walpole * ſays, in a letter to his brother, "I own I ſee nothing but black clouds gathering on all ſides: I don't ſee a ray of light to diſperſe them." Proſpect of a general war.

But Sir Robert Walpole did not behold things in ſo diſcouraging a light, and the Britiſh cabinet, directed by him, acted with no leſs ſpirit than caution. In the beginning of June, a ſquadron of twenty-five ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates Engliſh ſquadron ſent to Liſbon.

* April 29th, 1735. Correſpondence.

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failed from Portſmouth, under the command of Sir John Norris, and arrived in the Port of Liſbon. The deſtination of this fleet made a ſtrong ſenſation at Paris and Madrid, and gave great weight to the armed mediation of England. Cardinal Fleury was particularly alarmed; he repreſented to lord Waldegrave *, in a moſt pathetic manner, that when the king of Portugal ſhould ſee ſo *terrible a fleet* as twenty-five men of war, come to his aſſiſtance, he would reject all offers of mediation, the friends of the Emperor at Liſbon would encourage him to attack Spain, Spain would be defended by France, and Portugal by England, and a general war, of which no one could ſee the bounds, or calculate the effects, would be the inevitable conſequence. The Britiſh cabinet was not affected with theſe remonſtrances; the ſquadron was not withdrawn; but a ſtrong repreſentation was made to the courts of Spain and France, that its object was only to protect the trade of the Engliſh ſubjects, and to defend the coaſt and commerce of Portugal againſt any attempt: that Sir John Norris was inſtructed not to act offenſively, nor to encourage or aſſiſt the king of Portugal in offenſive meaſures. †

Alarms of France.

Accommodation between Portugal and Spain.

This ſpirited conduct rendered the miniſtry extremely popular in England, and greatly contributed to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. ‡ Spain having at firſt declined the proffered interpoſition,

* Earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcaſtle, June 1ſt, 1735. Correſpondence.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcaſtle, June 9th, 1735. Keene Papers.

‡ Tindal, vol. 20. p. 292.

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position, proposed at length to refer the decision of the differences to England and France; and Portugal, after making ineffectual endeavours to prevail on England to act offensively, finally acquiesced in the mediation of France and the maritime powers. Hostilities, though began in America against the Portuguese colony of St. Sacrament, never reached Europe; a convention, signed at Madrid in July, 1736, under the mediation of the English, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries, was followed by a peace, concluded at Paris, by which all differences were adjusted *.

Remonstrances of the Emperor.

A short time before the Portuguese minister solicited the assistance of England, the Imperial court delivered an answer to the plan of pacification; but this answer was only provisional, and the acceptance of the armistice was restrained to such conditions as rendered it inadmissible. It concluded by exhorting the maritime powers to make such preparations as to be in readiness to act offensively if the allies should reject the plan. The Emperor, † at the same time, stated the right which he had acquired, as well by the treaties made in 1731, as by his conduct since that period, to the friendship and assistance of the maritime powers, against the unjust attacks and ambitious views of the house of Bourbon, ‡ and made the most bitter reflections upon the unmanly and pusillanimous part, which those powers, especially the Dutch, had hitherto acted since the ruptures. It was now evident that

* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, August 16, 1735.

Memoire raisonnée, March 15. Grantham Papers.

† Deduction.

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England and Holland decline assistance.

the Emperor would not hearken to any overtures of accommodation from the maritime powers, unless they promised to assist him, if the allies rejected the plan. They deemed it necessary therefore to declare, in the most positive terms, that they would not on any consideration engage in the war; and to represent to the Imperial court, the entering into a particular accommodation with Spain or France; with Spain, by giving in marriage an archduchess to Don Carlos, or with France by exchanging Loraine for Tuscany. To this representation no immediate answer was given.

Indignation and despondency at Vienna.

The notification to the Imperial court, in answer to the memorial delivered by count Ulefeldt, that England and Holland declined taking a part in the war, was received at Vienna with the strongest symptoms of surprise and despondency; all that Mr. Robinson could draw from them, was sullen and abrupt declarations of astonishment and affliction to see the Emperor thus abandoned by the very power from whom he principally and solely expected assistance. Bartenstein,* the confidential, though subordinate minister of Charles the Sixth, said, that Europe was lost, the Emperor was the first sacrifice. He knew, were he Emperor, what party he should take; he would let things follow their own course. The war would end of itself for want of matter to feed the flame. The enemies of the house of Austria would surely not require Vienna; with his hereditary countries the Emperor would still be sufficiently great for himself, though not useful to others.

Prince

* Walpole Papers. Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, July 5th, 1735.

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Prince Eugene alſo obſerved, that the wiſeſt meaſure which the Emperor could purſue, was to recal all his forces into his hereditary dominions, and ſuffer France to take the reſt, if the maritime powers had no concern for them. But it was count Sinzendorff, who on this, as on all other occaſions, uſed the moſt violent expreſſions of paſſion and fury. Having aſked the Britiſh miniſter, if there were no ſuccours to be expected, and receiving for anſwer, that in all probability there were none, he exclaimed, "What a ſevere ſentence have you paſſed upon the Emperor! No malefactor was ever carried with ſo hard a doom to the gibbet." He was for burning Amſterdam, and for giving up Flanders; "there was, and there could be," he added, "no ſeparate negotiation. The only means left for the Emperor, was to ſet fire to the four corners of the world, and to periſh, if he muſt periſh, in the general conflagration." Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

Theſe violent expreſſions of indignation and deſpair, were ſoon followed by a ſuitable conduct; the Emperor was alarmed at the negotiations of France, Sweden, and Turkey; at the union, concert, and progreſs of the allies in Italy; at the retreat of count Konigſegg into the Tyrol, which left Mantua to its fate.

He attributed to the treaty of 1731 all his misfortunes, which aroſe from a determined reſolution of the French to deſtroy his ſucceſſion, guarantied by that treaty, and principally to the introduction of the 6,000 Spaniards into Italy;

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. which enabled the French to gain over the king of Sardinia. Thus abandoned by his allies, he determined to ſeparate himſelf from the maritime powers, and ordered count Kinſky to expreſs his extreme aſtoniſhment at the conduct of England, and to affirm, that he had no other ſyſtem of accommodation, than to ſubmit to his enemies, when deſerted by his friends.

In this ſituation of affairs, the mind of the Emperor was ſecretly agitated to ſuch a height, as to raiſe apprehenſions in the Empreſs, that his underſtanding might be effected by the conflict. "During the dead of the night," writes Mr. Robinſon to lord Harrington, "and while he was ſingly with her, he gave a looſe to his affliction, confuſion, and deſpair." Theſe agitations were augmented by a total diſtruſt of his own miniſters, excepting Bartenſtein, who having leſs to loſe than the others, flattered the Emperor with ideas more ſuitable to romantic glory, than to ordinary prudence. "This court," he adds, "is deſperate, and no prudent man can foreſee what may be the effect of a violent deſpair. The Emperor, as in a ſhipwreck, will lay hold on the firſt plank."

Peremptory requeſt of the Emperor. July 27th, 1735. The ſame ſentiments were enforced by count Kinſky *, in an audience of the king at Hanover. He repreſented the ſituation and ſtrength of the Imperial troops, and deſired his opinion upon the beſt method of employing them, either by ſending large detachments into Italy, or by abandoning

* Lord Harrington to the duke of Newcaſtle, Walpole Papers. Deduction.

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ing that territory, except Mantua, and the entries into the Tyrol; by collecting an army on the Rhine, to act offenſively againſt France; or, laſtly, by penetrating into France, on the ſide of the Moſelle and the Netherlands. He required at the ſame time a preciſe declaration of the king's final intentions on the point of ſuccours, and declared, that the Emperor would conſider a delay or ſilence on this queſtion, as an abſolute negative; and muſt then provide, as ſoon, and as well as he could, for himſelf, by way of negotiation, without conſulting the maritime powers, or conſidering their intereſts. A demand was at the ſame time made for a ſubſidy, either public or ſecret, which would enable him to ſupport a large army in the field, and to lure the king of Sardinia from the party of France and Spain.

While the Emperor was thus appealing to the hopes and fears of the maritime powers, and warmly ſoliciting ſuccours and ſubſidies, he threatened to abandon the Low Countries, and even to cede them to France, for the recovery of his Italian dominions, and the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction; a threat which excited ſtrong apprehenſions in the Britiſh cabinet, and was deprecated as an event of the utmoſt conſequence to the commercial and political intereſts of England.

Walpole renews his overtures to France.

Mean time the Britiſh cabinet was employed in endeavouring to divide the allies, and in renewing their ſolicitations for peace, even to the very power by which they had been recently duped

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Period V. 1734 to 1737.

and deceived. Sir Robert Walpole was conſcious that the only hopes of pacification depended on France, and if ſhe could be brought to a ſincere co-operation with England, the other belligerent powers, however averſe, could not withold their aſſent. He was deſirous not to offend the cardinal, by ſhewing diſguſt at his duplicity; wiſhed not to be precipitate in divulging the account of the ſecret negotiation; thought that the publication of that tranſaction ſhould rather be the conſequence than the forerunner or provocation of a war *. He was fully convinced, from his knowledge of the cardinal's and Chauvelin's characters, that unleſs the points of conceſſion originated with them †, France would never be brought to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction, which he conſidered as eſſentially neceſſary to the preſervation of tranquillity in Europe; he was aware that the deſperate ſituation of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, and his unwillingneſs to act in any degree cordially with the maritime powers, increaſed the difficulty of obtaining an accommodation, and that a peace would be cheaply purchaſed by ſuffering France to acquire Loraine, provided Tuſcany was given in exchange to the duke of Loraine, the Milaneſe reſtored, and Parma and Placentia ceded to the Emperor, in return for the two Sicilies.

Hints at the ceſſion of Loraine.

In conformity with theſe views, Horace Walpole

* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, $\frac{2}{13}$th May 1735. Correſpondence.

† Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, April $\frac{12}{23}$th 1735. Correſpondence.

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pole hinted, in a dispatch to lord Waldegrave, the circulation of a rumour in Paris, that the object of France was the acquisition of Loraine, in exchange for Tuscany. Lord Waldegrave, in a conference with the cardinal, casually mentioned this report. The extreme pleasure which this hint gave, the pains he took in setting forth its expediency, and obviating all objections, sufficiently proved that this was the great point which France had in view *.

Overtures from Fleury to the Emperor.

While the British cabinet were thus exerting themselves in favour of a pacification, and endeavouring to persuade the Emperor and France to agree to terms of accommodation without the knowledge of the other powers, a secret negotiation was opened between the Emperor and France, without the concurrence of England At the time that cardinal Fleury was holding the private correspondence with Horace Walpole, he made secret overtures to the Emperor, with the hopes of detaching him from the maritime powers. In his anniversary letter † of compliments to the Emperor, on occasion of the new year, dated December 12, 1734, he had added a postscript in his own hand, expressing, in the strongest terms, his affection and respect for the Emperor's person, as well as his earnest desire to see the peace of Europe restored. The Emperor, besides the usual chancery letter, returned an answer in his own hand, dated February 16th, to the said postscript, declaring

* The earl of Waldegrave to lord Harrington, June 7th, 1735. Walpole and Waldegrave Papers.

† Walpole Papers. Summary Deduction.

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declaring his readineſs, in conjunction with his allies, to liſten to terms of amity, and the facility of obtaining a peace, if the cardinal would heartily promote it. Theſe two letters were put into the hand of the Pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, to convey them to the cardinal; who, in opening the nuncio's packet (for he opened all his letters at arms length, and in the chimney) dropt the Emperor's particular letter into the fire, and could not recover it before it was defaced. The cardinal informed the nuncio, by a letter of March 10th, of this accident, and expreſſed his ſhame and concern. But the Emperor conſidering this ſtory as a mere fiction to excuſe his ſilence, the correſpondence was interrupted.

Soon after this incident, the Emperor, finding all attempts to induce the maritime powers to act offenſively againſt France ineffectual, artfully made diſtant overtures to Spain, in relation to the marriage of an archduchefs with Don Carlos, with the approbation of England. The dread of a ſimilar union between Spain and Auſtria to that which took place in 1725, alarmed the cardinal; and he accordingly took occaſion, by means of a confidential perſon at Paris, to convey to count Sinzendorff his wiſhes to conclude a peace directly with the Emperor, without the intervention of any other power, and added, that he would either depute a perſon of confidence ſecretly to Vienna, or the Emperor might ſend one to Paris, for the purpoſe of ſettling the conditions of a ſeparate accommodation.

To

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To this overture, the Emperor consented, and at the very moment when the cardinal was luring the Britiſh cabinet with the hopes of opening, under their auſpices, a negotiation with the Emperor, he diſpatched his agent, la Beaume, to Vienna. This tranſaction was carried on in ſo ſecret a manner, that although ſome ſuſpicions were entertained; yet the firſt vague rumour of the miſſion was communicated by the earl of Waldegrave, on the ſecond of Auguſt, * which he had caſually derived from a ſpy in the ſecretary of ſtate's office at Paris; and when he taxed the cardinal with his duplicity, the hoary miniſter did not bluſh to deny the fact, and becauſe the negotiation was at that moment ſuſpended, offered in the moſt ſolemn manner to take an oath on the bible, † that no private negotiation was at that time pending between France and Auſtria. La Beaume actually paſſed through the army, and after holding a conference with prince Eugene, arrived and had continued five weeks at Vienna, before Mr. Robinſon ‡ entertained the ſmalleſt ſuſpicions of the fact. The firſt intimation which he received from lord Harrington, appeared to him nothing more than an uncertain report, and it was not till after much minute inquiry, that he found the information to be true.

Anxiety of the Britiſh cabinet.

Although the king, in his reply to Kinſki, had declared that he would not take upon himſelf to give

* Walpole Papers. The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcaſtle, Auguſt 2, 1735. Correſpondence.

† The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcaſtle, September 28, 1735. Correſpondence.

‡ Walpole and Grantham Papers.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. give any advice, and urged that it would be extremely difficult to enter into the war without the concurrence of the Dutch; although he hinted at the ſeveral ſchemes of a ſeparate negotiation; thought the exchange of the dutchies of Loraine and Tuſcany preferable; inſinuated the readineſs of Spain to accept the ſecond archduchеſs, and offered to aſſiſt in forwarding the match, or to adopt any other method for the purpoſe of effecting a pacification; yet the Emperor, well aware that the king was ſtrongly inclined to afford active aſſiſtance, urged his claim with redoubled inſtances.

The earneſt ſolicitations of the Emperor, his threats to abandon the Low Countries, and the knowledge of his ſecret negotiation with France, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the king and cabinet, and gave weight to the opinion of that party which inclined for war. For it was deemed far more eligible to encounter hoſtilities, than by a refuſal of ſuccours to throw the houſe of Auſtria into the arms of France, or by permitting the diminution of her territories, to enfeeble the only power which could effectually preſent a barrier to the encroachments of the houſe of Bourbon.

Differences in the cabinet. This deſertion of the houſe of Auſtria in her extreme diſtreſs, gave great diſpleaſure to ſeveral of the miniſter's friends and co-adjutors, and to none more than to lord Harrington, who, in his capacity of ſecretary of ſtate, had the mortification to ſend inſtructions, and to forward meaſures contrary to his own ſentiments. "The reaſons," he obſerves,

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obſerves, in a letter to Horace Walpole, "you alledge to prove that the treaty of Seville was not the cauſe of the Emperor's misfortunes are unanſwerable, and I wiſh you could ſuggeſt as good ones (in caſe we are forced to it) for juſtifying to the Emperor our not aſſiſting him; but if that could be done, to juſtify it to ourſelves and our country; conſidering the preſent behaviour and operations of France and her allies, nothing but the moſt abſolute inability can do it." * Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

In a ſubſequent letter, lord Harrington † even ſuggeſted a meaſure, which if followed, would probably have involved England in the war: it was to propoſe to the Dutch, either an augmentation of their forces, or to join the king in requiring from the allies a direct ſpecification of the conditions on which they would conclude a peace, and to declare peremptorily, that unleſs a poſitive anſwer was given, England and the States would decline the mediation, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures for preſerving their own ſecurity, and the equilibrium of Europe. He alſo urged, if the States ſhould decline both theſe propoſitions, that England ſhould withdraw from the mediation, and at the ſame time acquaint the Emperor, that the king would endeavour to aſſiſt him in making a ſeparate peace with any of his enemies, and in failure of that attempt, would join with him afterwards in the war, if an opportunity ſhould ariſe of doing it with ſucceſs.

The

* Walpole Papers. Hanover, Auguſt 7th.

† Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, Hanover, Auguſt 31.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Effect of them abroad.

The difference of opinion was now ſo great, the party for war was ſo warmly ſupported by the king, and that for peace by Sir Robert Walpole, as to occaſion much indeciſion in the meaſures purſued abroad, and in the inſtructions ſent to the foreign miniſters. The French cabinet availed itſelf of theſe circumſtances with conſiderable effect, and particularly in Holland, where Chavigny, in his paſſage through the Hague to Hanover, exaggerated the divided ſtate of adminiſtration. He decried the ſpirited attempts made by Horace Walpole to infuſe vigour and ſpirit into the counſels of the States General, and publicly declared, that the ſentiments of the court and miniſters of England, differed from the plan of pacification delivered by Horace Walpole to the States, and from the joint reſolutions of the king and States, on the ſubject of the plan and armiſtice, communicated to the French embaſſador on the 8th of June.

Sir Robert Walpole had given weight to this opinion, in a private interview with Chavigny, * who preſſed him to bring about a pacification by a ſecret convention between France and England. He avowed his inclination for peace, and expreſſed his deſire to ſettle the terms with cardinal Fleury, but denied his own power ſolely to carry any meaſure into execution. When Chavigny conſidered him in the light of prime miniſter, and argued that his known credit with the king would enable him to carry any point he thought neceſſary:

* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, June 17th, 1735. Correſpondence.

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ceſſary: "Let us ſuppoſe," replied Walpole, "That I ſhould agree to any meaſure, without conſulting the duke of Newcaſtle, who is ſecretary of ſtate for the department of France, and the duke, on being informed of the tranſaction, ſhould oppoſe it, what is to be done in that caſe? and what opinion would you have of me, to find things ſtopt and overturned by ſuch an oppoſition?" Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

It was impoſſible that affairs could long continue in this ſtate of ſuſpence, and that the tranquillity of Europe could be ſecured, while the cabinet of England was diſtracted and embarraſſed. It became, therefore, neceſſary for the honour of the miniſter, as well as for the preſervation of his ſyſtem, to ſhew, that whatever private differences might exiſt in the cabinet, their public opinion was decidedly in favour of pacific meaſures; and to undeceive the Emperor in his expectations of aſſiſtance from the maritime powers, by enforcing the neceſſity of a ſeparate accommodation either with France or Spain. Theſe two objects were finally attained.

In this dilemma, Walpole acted with the moſt conſummate addreſs. While the official diſpatches from Vienna expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the ſecret negotiation with France, and caſt the moſt bitter reflections on the Imperial miniſters, his letters, and thoſe of his brother Horace, breathed nothing but pacific ſentiments. They * palliated the conduct of the Emperor, and Addreſs of Walpole.

* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, December 9th, 1735. Correſpondence.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. and were anxious not to offend either him or France, by a violent and precipitate condemnation of their measures. They asserted, that although the alteration of the project from that offered by the maritime powers, was executed without the co-operation of England, and the king had just reason to complain of inattention and slight, yet as it was entirely agreeable to what England had proposed, the king could blame nothing but the form of proceeding. They observed, that it would be highly unbecoming to take offence at mere punctilious circumstances; they estimated the blessings of peace too highly to suffer etiquitte to prevail over prudence, or to object to an agreement, merely because it did not exactly follow the original project; provided peace was the result, they both repeatedly declared, it was no matter by whom or in what manner it was procured. *

Transmits a final answer to the Emperor. But though Walpole was anxious not to disoblige the Emperor, he would not sanction his demand of succours or subsidies; and as the king and part of the cabinet appear to have strongly recommended that measure, he was firm and decisive in enforcing his pacific sentiments. At length, after much opposition and some delays, a paper was transmitted to Mr. Robinson at Vienna, which seems to have been drawn up by the minister. It stated the determined resolution of the king not to take any part in the war, to offer his intervention in favour of the Emperor,

† Horace Walpole to Thomas Robinson. Walpole Papers.

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peror, but not to ſend any aſſiſtance either in men or money. Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

Having arranged theſe difficult points, his opinion triumphed, and his pacific meaſures were adopted in their fulleſt latitude; the Britiſh cabinet now ſteered a ſteady and uniform courſe, no longer divided in counſels, or differing in ſentiment; and their unanimous exertions were finally crowned with ſucceſs.

It was their aim to make it the intereſt of France to co-operate ſeriouſly in the reſtoration of tranquillity, by candidly agreeing to ſuch conditions as would juſtify cardinal Fleury in deſerting Spain, and making a ſeparate accommodation with the Emperor; and this meaſure could only be effected by facilitating the ceſſion of Loraine to France, in exchange for Tuſcany, by leaving to cardinal Fleury and Chauvelin the manner of propoſing it, and by ſubmitting the ſpecific plan to the Emperor for his approbation.

The earl of Waldegrave,* in conformity to inſtructions ſent from the queen, drew from cardinal Fleury a ſpecific acknowledgment of his intentions. After increaſing his alarm, at a reſolution of the States, which ſeemed to announce the adoption of more vigorous meaſures, he repreſented the calamities ready to fall upon Europe, from his dilatory and irreſolute proceedings; that he foreſaw nothing but ruin and deſtruction from beginning and then dropping negotiations, and ſubſtituting new projects in their place. He gradually Plan of pacification:

* The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcaſtle, Auguſt 21. Correſpondence.

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dually obtained, by artful queſtions, a confeſſion that the exchange of Loraine for Tuſcany, was the great object of France; and finally, under a promiſe of the ſtricteſt ſecrecy, he prevailed on the cardinal to lay open his ſcheme for a general pacification, which, with a very few exceptions, was ſimilar to that which had been propoſed by the maritime powers. At the ſame time, the cardinal requeſted that the plan ſhould be propoſed and executed by England in concert with France; and he added, that ſuch a peace, being eſtabliſhed on the foundation of juſtice and reaſon, he would abandon his allies if they did not comply.

Laid before the Emperor.

Having thus prevailed on cardinal Fleury to acquieſce in the intervention of England, the next ſtep was to gain the conſent of the Emperor to the terms propoſed by France, to be modified by England; and this was effected with equal ability. The Britiſh miniſter at Vienna, * in a private audience of the Emperor, repreſented the concern of the king at the unfortunate events of the war, and his indefatigable zeal and ardent wiſhes in deſiring to put an end to the troubles of Europe. He obſerved, that the diſappointment which the king derived from his inability to enter into the war, was equal to that which the Emperor muſt have experienced in not having received that aſſiſtance which he ſo ardently expected. He urged, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, there ſeemed no other expedient remaining, than to detach one of the allies, and to carry that project into

* Thomas Robinſon to lord Harrington, Auguſt 26th. Walpole Papers.

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into execution in the manner moſt agreeable, the king had expreſſed a deſire to have the Emperor's opinion; and had been anxiouſly waiting for an anſwer. He then added, that he had now to ſubmit to the Emperor's conſideration, a ſtrong inſtance of the king's confidence and friendſhip, which was to communicate the offer of a ſeparate accommodation from France, nearly conformable to the plan propoſed by the maritime powers, and acceded to by the Emperor; the ceſſion of Loraine to France in exchange for Tuſcany, the deceaſe of the great duke, he concluded by ſaying, that the Emperor's conſent to this plan would infallibly inſure a ſucceſsful iſſue. Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

In reply, the Emperor, after returning his grateful acknowledgments to the king for this inſtance of his friendſhip, added with much dignity, "Although I relied upon more ſubſtantial marks of friendſhip from the king, whoſe word was engaged by treaty to aſſiſt me with real ſuccours, and although in a ſimilar caſe I ſhould not have withheld thoſe ſuccours which I ſtood engaged to by treaty, yet I am willing to believe that the diſappointment which I have experienced, however fatal to myſelf and family, was leſs owing to want of inclination in the king, than to the impoſſibility of acting otherwiſe: notwithſtanding this diſappointment, I will pay all imaginable deference to the advice now communicated, and will appreciate as it deſerves this mark of confidence. But as it is an affair of the higheſt importance and delicacy, and as the exchange does

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not totally depend on myſelf, I cannot give the previous promiſe which is now deſired, even if I were convinced of the ſucceſs; for the object under conſideration is not ſo much what ſhould be done, but whether it is proper to be done. I again aſſure you, however, that I will pay the greateſt deference to the king's advice, and after I have duly reflected upon it, and conſulted my council, if you deſire it, will myſelf give the anſwer."

Reply.

Theſe declarations were ſoon followed by various explanations from the Imperial miniſters, and finally by a formal anſwer in writing. As far as could be gathered from the dubious and myſterious manner in which the court of Vienna enveloped their ſentiments, it appeared as if the Emperor, on certain conditions, might be induced to accede to the overtures of cardinal Fleury, provided Tuſcany was given unconditionally to the family of Loraine, and the king of Sardinia would accept the Langhes inſtead of the Tortoneſe.

Subſequent proceedings.

Amidſt ſuch diſcordant views as influenced the conduct of Auſtria and France, it was not to be expected that any conditions would be finally acceded to on either ſide without much altercation and delay. But it was a great point gained, that the contending parties ſeemed gradually drawing towards an amicable compromiſe. The object of England was ſecretly to aſſiſt in keeping up the intercourſe recently eſtabliſhed between the Emperor and France, to offend neither of thoſe powers by cenſuring their conduct; but on the con-

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trary, to declare that, although the king was not unacquainted with the ſecret negotiation, yet ſo far from oppoſing it, he would be deſirous of facilitating its ſucceſsful iſſue, if it ſhould be found not inconſiſtent with the equilibrium of Europe. Chapter 45. 1735 to 1736.

The Britiſh miniſters at the Imperial and French courts, were inſtructed to approve the baſis of the agreement ſettled between France and the Emperor, of which they obtained certain information, and a counter project, with ſome few alterations for preventing the ceſſion of Loraine to France, without a ſufficient indemnity, was drawn up by lord Harrington, and forwarded to Paris and Vienna. In conſequence of this conduct, the Imperial and French courts at length acknowledged the ſecret negotiation, and the Britiſh embaſſador at Vienna received from prince Eugene, a project of the preliminary articles with which the Emperor and France were contented, and to which the concurrence of the maritime powers was deſired. Nov. 21.

The anſwer to this project was made in the name of Great Britain and the United Provinces: it ſtated, that as the preliminaries did not eſſentially differ from the plans before delivered, nor contain any thing detrimental to the equilibrium of Europe, the king and the Republic did not heſitate to declare their approbation and readineſs to concur in a future treaty for bringing them to perfection; reſerving to themſelves the liberty of ſtipulating the neceſſary ſecurity for their own poſſeſſions, rights, privileges, and commerce.

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The ſecret negotiation had already produced very advantageous effects in Germany; it occaſioned an actual, though not a ſtipulated armiſtice on the Rhine. The French and Imperial troops did not undertake any offenſive operations. Prince Eugene returned to Vienna in the month of October, and ſoon afterwards the two armies paſſed into winter quarters. But the ſame beneficial conſequences could not take place in Italy; ſince the fate of the war did not wholly depend, as it did in Germany, on the *fiat* of cardinal Fleury, where no ſuſpenſion of arms could take place, without the conſent of the king of Spain, who, eager to accelerate the poſſeſſion of Mantua, would not eaſily be induced to agree to an armiſtice at the moment when he thought himſelf ſecure of ſucceſs. But what could not be accompliſhed by perſuaſion or force, was finally effected by ſtratagem.

Suſpenſion of arms on the Rhine.

Oppoſite views of the allies.

One great object of the Britiſh cabinet was to prevent, or at leaſt to protract the ſiege of Mantua, which was but ſcantily provided with ammunition and proviſions. With a view to deter the French from attempting it, Horace Walpole, in a letter to the cardinal, and baron Gedda and lord Waldegrave in their conferences, repreſented, that although the Engliſh had declined going into the war; yet they would not ſee the houſe of Auſtria ruined, and that if Mantua was taken, and the Emperor was driven out of Italy, the maritime powers muſt come forward to his aſſiſtance. Fortunately, Mantua was the ſubject of contention between

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between the allies in Italy. Philip was eager to begin the ſiege, conſcious that the poſſeſſion of that important fortreſs, as the key of Lombardy on the ſide of the Tyrol, would give to Spain the controul of Italy. Cardinal Fleury himſelf did not attempt to conceal his apprehenſions of the conſequences that would reſult from the capture. He ſaid to the earl of Waldegrave, * that the fall of that place into the hands of the Spaniards, would defeat all his ſchemes, and render the king and queen of Spain untractable. He even promiſed, and in this inſtance did not belie his word, to order the French general in Italy to protract the opening of the trenches, and even to place his troops in ſuch a manner, as to permit the entrance of proviſions into the town. The king of Sardinia went ſtill farther, and in a letter to George the Second, declared that he was ready to join the maritime powers, if they would enter into the war; † expatiated on his own danger, ſhould the poſſeſſion of Mantua encourage Spain to deprive him of all the territories which had been allotted to him by his engagements with France. He preſſed the king ſpeedily to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the allies, as the only means of preventing his falling a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Spain, for having delayed cooperating in the ſiege of Mantua. He declared that he would rather make a ſacrifice of part of the

* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, October 4th, 1735. Correſpondence.

† Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to the duke of Newcaſtle, Hanover, Auguſt 14th, 1737.

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the Milaneſe, that the Emperor might retain a footing in Italy, by keeping poſſeſſion of Mantua, with Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, than even obtain poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, on condition that Mantua, with the other poſſeſſions in Italy, ſhould be ceded to Don Carlos. *

In compliance with theſe views, he had poſitively refuſed to furniſh a ſingle piece of artillery, and ſecretly obſtructed every meaſure which tended to facilitate the capture of that important fortreſs. By theſe manœuvres, the ſiege was protracted until the ſeaſon was too far advanced; and Philip was thus prevented from gaining a preponderance in Italy, which would have rendered him too powerful in that quarter, and have induced him to refuſe all conditions of peace which did not confirm the total excluſion of the Emperor.

England foments the jealouſy between France and Spain.

During this whole tranſaction, cardinal Fleury was kept in continual alarm, by repeated inſinuations from Horace Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, that the Dutch would act with vigour, provided France would not accede to honourable terms. † They alſo made continued repreſentations to him, that the Emperor, if rendered deſperate, would throw himſelf into the arms of Spain, and agree to the marriage of Don Carlos with an archduchеſs, which the French miniſter ſeemed to deprecate as much, or even more than the king of England. For the ſame purpoſe, the Britiſh cabinet never ceaſed making overtures, both

* The duke of Newcaſtle to lord Harrington, June 6, 1735. Walpole Papers.

† Horace Walpole's Apology.

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both to the Emperor and Spain, in favour of the marriages; and this buſineſs was ſo artfully managed, that though it was conducted under the appearance of the ſtricteſt ſecrecy; yet it was duly communicated to the cardinal in the manner the moſt likely to alarm him.

The cardinal had no ſooner agreed to a ſeparate accommodation with the Emperor, and a ſecret convention with England, than the recollection of his former inſincerity in his correſpondence with Horace Walpole, and the influence of Chauvelin over him, induced the Britiſh cabinet to keep him ſteady to his engagements, by oppoſing art to art, and intrigue to intrigue. They availed themſelves of his apprehenſions of a rupture with Spain, and of his dread leſt a cloſe union ſhould be formed between Spain and England. Mr. Keene, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, executed, with much addreſs, the inſtructions of his court, on this head. From the time of the firſt official communications from cardinal Fleury, of the ſecret accommodation between France and the Emperor, and the partial ſuſpenſion of arms in Italy, without the knowledge or conſent of Spain, he artfully fomented the reſentment which the court of Madrid entertained againſt France, for deſerting and betraying the common cauſe. He encouraged the irritable and punctilious diſpoſition of Philip the Fifth, who was piqued at being betrayed by his native country; he increaſed while he affected to allay the ungovernable fury of the queen, who aſpired to make her ſon, Don Carlos,

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Period VI. 1734. to 1737. los, master of Italy, and who considered the dispoſal of Parma and Tuſcany to the Emperor, as an injurious deprivation of her own inheritance.

The court of Spain was ſo irritated, that Mr. Keene obſerved, in a letter to the duke of Newcaſtle,* "There is ſcarce any thing that they would not do, to revenge themſelves upon the French; you will eaſily judge of their deſire to do it, when, contrary to their pride, they make ſuch applications to the king before they know the leaſt of his majeſty's ſentiments. I wiſh, indeed, that matters may not have been puſht rather too far; for hitherto I found more diſpoſition in them to ſit down quietly with their mortification, if there was no remedy, than I do at preſent; but they now ſeem to be drove to deſpair, and to be reſolved to act as people in that ſtate."

Even Don Patinho, the firſt miniſter, who was ſo myſterious, that according to cardinal Fleury, he always ſpoke as well as wrote † in cypher, was ſo highly irritated, that he propoſed, in unambiguous terms, to undermine the French commerce with Spain, and particularly that with the Indies, by increaſing the Engliſh trade; "and thus we ſhall," as he obſerved to the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, ‡ "revenge ourſelves upon the cardinal in the moſt eaſy and effectual manner, and kill him *with a ſtaff of cotton.*" §

The

* Madrid, December 10th, 1735. Keene Papers.

† The Earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcaſtle, October 28th, 1733.

‡ Benjamin Keene to the duke of Newcaſtle, November 28th. Keene Papers.

§ Un Bâton de Coton.

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The Britiſh cabinet, long accuſtomed to the violent and changeful temper of the court of Madrid, and well knowing that the king, though alienated by temporary diſpleaſure, was from principle and intereſt attached to France, amicably deprecated theſe counſels, and urged the good policy as well as neceſſity of acceding to the preliminaries. Chapter 47. 1735 to 1736.

The reſult of all theſe wiſely combined meaſures, was the ſignature of preliminaries for a general pacification, which was concluded on ſuch favourable terms, that even lord Bolingbroke, the implacable enemy of Sir Robert Walpole, obſerved; "If the Engliſh miniſters had any hand "in it, they were wiſer than he thought them; "and if not, they were much luckier than they "deſerved to be.." * Signature of the preliminaries.

The opinion which truth extorted unwillingly from lord Bolingbroke, that the terms of the preliminaries were as juſt and honourable as the circumſtances would permit, ſeems to have been the opinion of the greateſt part of the nation; for the annals of England give no inſtance of a ſeſſion in parliament which paſſed with ſo little oppoſition, in regard to foreign affairs, as that in the commencement of 1736. With becoming pride and ſatisfaction, for having ſettled the great outlines of a general peace, the ſpeech from the throne expreſſed the pacific ſentiments of the miniſter, that provided peace was made, it was no object of conſideration by whom, or in what manner King's ſpeech. January 15.

* Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, December 23d, January 3d, 1735. Correſpondence.

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ner it was made. After mentioning the happy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken, and after obſerving, that a plan of pacification had been propoſed by the king, in conjunction with the States, and that the Emperor and France had ſeparately concerted the preliminaries for obtaining that end, the king ſaid: "It appearing, upon due examination, that theſe articles do not eſſentially vary from the plan propoſed by me and the States, nor contain any thing prejudicial to the equilibrium of Europe, or to the rights and intereſts of our reſpective ſubjects, we thought fit, in purſuance of our conſtant purpoſe, to contribute our utmoſt towards a pacification; to declare, by a joint reſolution, to the courts of Vienna and France, our approbation of the ſaid preliminaries, and our readineſs to concur in a treaty to be made for bringing them to perfection."

As an infallible ſymptom of peace, he noticed, that a conſiderable reduction would be made both by ſea and land, and concluded with this pathetic exhortation to moderation and harmony at home: "I am willing to hope, this pleaſing proſpect of peace abroad, will greatly contribute to peace and good harmony at home. Let that example of temper and moderation, which has ſo happily calmed the ſpirits of contending princes, baniſh from among you all inteſtine diſcord and diſſention. Thoſe who truly wiſh the peace and proſperity of their country, can never have a more favourable opportunity than now offers, of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, by declaring their ſatiſfaction

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faction in the progreſs already made, towards re- Chapter 46.
ſtoring the public tranquillity, and in promoting 1736.
what is ſtill neceſſary to bring it to perfection. *

On this occaſion, the addreſs was carried in the houſe of commons, not only without a diviſion, but without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, and the ſeſſion ended with ſcarcely a ſingle reflection on the conduct of foreign affairs; a ſingular phenomenon in the political annals of this country.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-SIXTH.

1736.

Parliamentary Proceedings.—Gin Act.—Motion to repeal the Teſt Act, negatived.—Bill for the Relief of the Quakers paſſes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords.—Account of Edmund Gibſon, Biſhop of London.—Prorogation.—Horace Walpole declines the Office of Secretary of State.—Accompanies the King to Hanover, as Vice Secretary.—Foreign Negotiations.—Prudence of Sir Robert Walpole.—Private Correſpondence with his Brother.—Objects to guaranty the Proviſional Succeſſion to Berg and Juliers.—Oppoſes the Northern League, and the Mediation between Ruſſia and the Porte.—Promotes the definitive Treaty.—The Delays of the Emperor.—Ineffectual Attempt to bribe Chauvelin.—Secret Correſpondence with Cardinal Fleury, and Diſmiſſion of Chauvelin.

THE parliamentary proceedings of this ſeſſion, relating to domeſtic affairs, were, in general, of little importance. The only ſubjects which it may be neceſſary to particularize, were The *Gin Act*; the repeal of the Teſt Act, and the bill for giving relief to Quakers. Parliamentary Proceedings.

The act for laying a tax on ſpirituous liquors, and Gin Act.

* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 103, 104. Journals.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

and licenſing the retailers, was a meaſure in which the miniſter had no immediate concern, but for which he ſuffered much unmerited obloquy. The bill was principally promoted by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, from a ſpirit of philanthrophy, which led him to contemplate with horror the progreſs of vice, licentiouſneſs, and immorality that marked the popular attachment to theſe inflammatory poiſons. This benevolent attempt embarraſſed the miniſter, but did not anſwer the deſired end.

It was incumbent on the miniſter to prevent any diminution of the revenue of the crown, and for that purpoſe to ſupply any deficiency which might ariſe from the reduced conſumption of ſpirituous liquors; but this attention to his official duty, expoſed him to much intemperate abuſe, and he was reproached for wiſhing to ſacrifice the morals of the people to financial conſiderations. After many debates, in which he took an active ſhare, the bill paſſed, and £. 70,000. per annum was granted to the king as a compenſation for the diminution of the civil liſt, to which the duty had hitherto belonged. *

The populace ſhewed their diſapprobation of this act in the uſual mode of riot and violence. Numerous deſperados availed themſelves of the popular diſcontents, and continued the clandeſtine ſale of gin in defiance of every reſtriction. The demand of penalties, which the offenders were unable to pay, filled the priſons, and removing every reſtraint, plunged them into courſes more

* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 172.

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more audaciously criminal. It was found, that a duty and penalty so severe as to amount to an implied prohibition, were as little calculated to benefit the public morality as the public revenue, and, as Walpole predicted, a subsequent administration was obliged to modify the measure. Chapter 46. 1736.

Few subjects were more embarrassing to the minister, than the proposed repeal of the test act. He had for a long time acted with the dissenters; he fully appreciated the advantage which the protestant succession had derived from their exertions; he had received from them the warmest support; he knew that they had reason to expect relief from a protestant king, whom they had assisted in placing on the throne; he had even given them hopes, that the time was not far distant, when they might obtain what they so earnestly desired. In this session, the motion for repealing the test act was prematurely brought forwards by Plummer, who supported it in a very able speech. Though the minister opposed the motion in the present instance, he did it with such candour and moderation, and, "expressed himself so cautiously, "with regard to the church, and so affection- "ately, with regard to the dissenters, that neither "party had cause to complain of him. The pub- "lic has been long informed of all the argu- "ments urged for and against the motion, as al- "most every year produced some event that re- "vived them, therefore they are omitted here. "The motion was negatived by a majority of 251 "against 123." * Repeal of the test act. March 2d and 12th. Negatived.

Although

* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 323. Journals.

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Period V. 1734 to 1737. Quakers' bill.

Although the minister thus opposed the repeal of the test act, he warmly patronised and supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers, who presented a petition to the house of commons.

March 2d. It stated, "that notwithstanding the several acts of parliament made, for the more easy recovery of tythes, and ecclesiastical dues, in a summary way, by warrant from justices of the peace; yet as the said people conscientiously refused the payment, they were not only liable to, but many of them had undergone grievous sufferings, by prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the impoverishing and ruin of them and their families, for such small sums as were recoverable by those acts; and therefore praying, that the house would be pleased to afford them such relief, as to them should seem meet." *

Though the minister and the majority of the house were disposed to favour the petition, and a bill was framed accordingly, yet the great interest of the established clergy, rendered it a matter of much difficulty. Counter-petitions poured in

March 26. from all quarters, setting forth, "That such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the laws then in being, for the recovery of tythes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the established church, upon a worse foot than the rest of his majesty's subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill." †

Notwith-

* Chandler. Journals. † Ibid.

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Notwithſtanding all obſtacles, the diſpoſition of the houſe was very ſtrong in favour of the quakers. Their petition was not conſidered a party affair; and the proceedings againſt many of them, had ſuch an air of perſecution, as procured them many friends amongſt all parties. The bill underwent great alterations in the committee. The main intention of it was, to make the determination of two juſtices of the peace final, as to all payments of tythes and church dues, when the quaker, who was to pay them, did not litigate the ſame, which the juſtices were to certify under their hands and ſeals, without fee or reward. But in caſe the quaker ſhould litigate the payment, then either party, who ſhould diſſent from the adjudication of the juſtices, might have recourſe to the courts in Weſtminſter hall. The payment of all church and chapel rates, if refuſed by quakers, were, upon the complaint, of the churchwardens, to be levied by diſtreſs, by order of two juſtices, upon their goods, in the ſame manner as the poor rates are levied, and no quaker was to be ſued or proſecuted for not paying any church or chapel rates, in any other manner. Chapter 45. 1736.

Such was the main purport of this famous bill, though clogged with a great number of other clauſes; when after long debates, and ſeveral diviſions, it paſſed the houſe of commons, by a majority of 164 againſt 48.* Paſſes the commons, May 3d.

In the upper houſe it was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Rejected by the lords.

* Chandler. Journals.

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the intereſt of the church and the law; a conſiderable number of courtiers were alſo non-contents. The two great lawyers, lord chancellor Talbot and lord Hardwicke, made a ſtrong impreſſion by obſervations on the incorrectneſs and imperfections of the bill, for the amendment of which, the ſhort remainder of the ſeſſion would not afford time. "The ſpeakers on both ſides diſplayed great abilities and temper, but when the queſtion was put, for committing the bill, it paſſed in the negative, by a majority of 54 againſt 35." *

Diſſatisfaction of the miniſter.

The miniſter was highly diſſatisfied with the rejection of a bill which he was induced from various conſiderations to promote. He was ſtrongly averſe to all meaſures which bore the appearance of perſecution in religious matters. His conduct was alſo influenced by perſonal conſiderations. A large body of quakers were eſtabliſhed in the county of Norfolk, and particularly in the city of Norwich, who had always ſupported the candidates whom he favoured at the general elections, and he was anxious, from a principle of gratitude, to prove that he was not unmindful of paſt favours, and deſerving of future aſſiſtance. Theſe motives operated ſo ſtrongly in its favour, that few circumſtances ever ruffled his temper, or affected his equanimity more than the rejection of this bill. He bitterly complained of the vindictive ſpirit which reigned in the houſe of lords, and his reſentment was principally excited againſt the biſhop of London, to whom he attributed its defeat.

Reſentment againſt biſhop Gibſon.

* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 315. Lords' Debates.

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defeat. That prelate had prevailed on the bench of biſhops, to give their decided oppoſition to the bill, and had exhorted the clergy, in all quarters of the kingdom, to petition againſt it, as highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the church. In conſequence of theſe exertions, the miniſter, with a ſpirit of acrimony very unuſual to him, withdrew from the learned prelate the full confidence which he had hitherto placed in him, and transferred into other hands the conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs with which he had been chiefly entruſted. Chapter 46. 1736.

Edmund Gibſon was born in 1669, *, and educated at the free grammar ſchool at Bampton, in Weſtmoreland, the place of his nativity. At the age of ſeventeen, he was admitted a ſcholar of Queen's college, Oxford, and raiſed himſelf into early notice by various publications, which proved his claſſical erudition, his accurate acquaintance with the Northern languages, and a correct knowledge of the Roman and Saxon antiquities, and Britiſh topography. His great talents and extenſive learning, introduced him to the patronage of archbiſhop Teniſon, who made him librarian of Lambeth, and appointed him his domeſtic chaplain. By the archbiſhop's intereſt, he became precentor and reſidentiary of Chicheſter, rector of Lambeth, and archdeacon of Surry. In 1713, he gave to the public that great and laborious work, intituled, "Codex Juris Eccleſiaſtici Anglicani, or the Statutes, Conſtitutions, Canons, Rubricks, and articles of the church of England, metho- Account of that prelate.

* Biographia Britannica.

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methodically digeſted under their proper heads; with a commentary, hiſtorical and juridical, and with an introductory diſcourſe concerning the preſent ſtate of the power, diſcipline, and laws of the church of England, with an appendix of inſtruments, antient and modern, in folio."

Being a great friend to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, he was promoted, in 1716, to the biſhopric of Lincoln, and in 1720, tranſlated to the ſee of London.

In this eminent ſtation, he enjoyed the full confidence of the king and miniſtry, and was principally conſulted by lord Townſhend and Sir Robert Walpole, in all eccleſiaſtical matters, particularly during the long decline of health which incapacitated archbiſhop Wake for tranſacting buſineſs. He was always zealous in ſupporting the eſtabliſhment of the church of England; and uniformly oppoſed the repeal of the teſt act. He declined a tranſlation to Wincheſter, * and looked forwards to the primacy with ſuch confidence of expectation, that he was called by Whiſton, heir apparent to the ſee of Canterbury. Theſe well-founded hopes were fruſtrated by the indignation of Walpole for his oppoſition to the quaker's bill. On the deceaſe of Wake, the ſee was conferred on Potter. And when, on his death, in 1747, it was offered to Gibſon, he declined it on account of his advanced age and increaſing infirmities. † He died on the 6th of February 1748.

The

* Letter from biſhop Gibſon to Sir Robert Walpole. Orford Papers.

† Letter from biſhop Gibſon to the king, communicated by the biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr. Douglas.)

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The inveteracy displayed against this eminent prelate for the conscientious discharge of his duty, reflects no credit on the memory of Sir Robert Walpole. His esteem for the bishop of London had been so great, that when he was reproached with giving him the authority of a pope, he replied, "And a very good pope he is."* Even after their disagreement, he never failed to pay an eulogium to the learning and integrity of his former friend. Chapter 18. 1736.

On the 20th of May, the king put an end to this late session of parliament, by a speech, in which he acquainted both houses, "that since the preliminary articles had been concluded between the Emperor and his most Christian majesty, a further convention, concerning the execution of them, had been made and communicated by both those courts, and that negociations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle the general pacification." He expressed himself with great concern in relation to the seeds of dissension that had been sown amongst his people, exhorting his parliament to cultivate unanimity, and promising impartial protection to all his subjects. He then acquainted them, that being obliged that summer to visit his German dominions, he hoped that they would make the administration of the queen, whom he had resolved to appoint regent during his absence, as easy to her, Prorogation of parliament.

* Etough's Minutes of Conversations with Sir Robert Walpole.

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her, as her wife conduct would render her government agreeable to them. *

Horace Walpole declines the office of secretary of state.

At this period, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother gave a memorable proof of their prudence and moderation. The king being dissatisfied with lord Harrington, proposed to dismiss him from the office of secretary of state, and queen Caroline offered the place to Horace Walpole; but conscious that the elevation of two brothers to the principal posts of government, would augment the jealousy and popular outcry which already prevailed, and fearful lest so important a change should increase the divisions among the ministers, he declined the offer. The king, however, would not admit lord Harrington's attendance at Hanover, and though he acquiesced in the refusal of Horace Walpole, yet he insisted on his undertaking the employment of secretary of state during his residence abroad; an order which Horace Walpole, though he attempted to elude, could not venture to disobey, and accordingly accompanied the king to Hanover. †

Accompanies the king to Hanover.

Confidential correspondence.

As the king was extremely jealous of being governed, and yet as his ignorance of the English constitution, and his natural attachment to German measures, rendered it expedient that he should be advised by those who were responsible for the administration of affairs, it became necessary to convey this advice in so delicate a manner, that he should appear to guide the reins, which were

* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 325. Journals. Chandler.
† Horace Walpole's Apology.

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were conducted by another hand. With this view, a confidential correſpondence was carried on between the two brothers; and as the king always expected to ſee any private letters which paſſed between them, an arrangement was made, that oſtenſible letters ſhould be ſent for the peruſal of the king, and confidential ones to Horace Walpole alone. A part of this correſpondence is ſtill preſerved; thoſe letters of Sir Robert Walpole which relate to foreign affairs, prove, as uſual, his extreme caution in avoiding, as much as poſſible, any continental embarraſſments, which were not immediately neceſſary to the preſervation of external peace and internal tranquillity. Chapter 46. 1736.

The letters on domeſtic occurrences, are chiefly concerning the murder of captain Porteus; tumults in Spitalfields, on employing Iriſh manufacturers, and the riots on account of the gin act. They diſplay his good ſenſe and prudence, in endeavouring to prevent rather than puniſh diſturbances, and yet indicate no deficiency of vigour, when it was requiſite to act with ſpirit.*

Beſides the difficult taſk of ſettling the diſputes between the Emperor and the allies, which encountered continual obſtructions from the diſcordant views of the contending powers, three foreign objects of great importance principally occupied the attention of the king at Hanover, and gave ſufficient employment to the ſagacity of Walpole: The regulation of the ſucceſſion of Berg and Juliers: the project of a league with the northern powers; Foreign affairs.

* See Correſpondence.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. powers; and the mediation between Ruſſia and the Porte.

Berg and Juliers.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, dying in 1609 without iſſue, his dominions 1666. were claimed by the houſes of Saxony, Brandenburgh, and palatine Newburgh. After a long conteſt, the diſputed ſucceſſion was regulated by a family compact, and divided between the great elector Frederick William, who was deſcended from the eldeſt ſiſter of John William, and Philip William, duke of Newburgh, afterwards elector palatine, who was deſcended from the ſecond ſiſter. Frederick William obtained Cleves, La Marck, and Ravenſtein; Philip William, Juliers and Berg. By the family compact, it was ſtipulated, that ſhould the male iſſue of either branch become extinct, the other ſhould inherit the whole ſucceſſion.

As at this period Charles, ſon of Philip William, having no iſſue, and being advanced in years, the ſucceſſion of Berg and Juliers was claimed by Frederick William, king of Pruſſia, grandſon of the great elector. But his claims were oppoſed by Charles Frederick, prince palatine of Sultzbach, of the collateral line of the houſe of palatine Newburgh, as being lineally deſcended from the third ſiſter of the laſt duke of Cleves. He accordingly remonſtrated againſt the family compact; and was ſupported in his pretenſions by the elector palatine, to whom he was preſumptive heir. This ſucceſſion had long been a favourite object of Frederick William: He was

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prepared to aſſert his pretenſions with his whole force, on the death of the elector palatine, and was ſecure of wreſting theſe duchies from the houſe of Sultzbach, had not the latter been openly ſupported or ſecretly abetted by other powers. Chapter 46. 1736.

It became an object of common prudence and policy, to obviate the difficulties which were likely to ariſe on the death of the elector palatine, and to regulate, if poſſible, the proviſional ſucceſſion to the diſputed provinces, in ſuch a manner as to prevent the diſturbance of the public peace. But the diſcordant views and complicated intereſts of the powers who were capable of interfering with effect, gave little hopes of a ſucceſsful and ſtable arrangement.

France had given her guaranty to the houſe of Sultzbach, but ſhe had given it at a time when ſhe was intereſted to ſecure the palatine family, and as that motive no longer operated with the ſame force, it was probable that ſhe would act in conformity to the ſituation of affairs at the time of the vacancy.

The Emperor, with his uſual duplicity, had ſecretly guarantied the proviſional ſucceſſion to both the conteſting parties; but although he had lured Frederick William with the moſt ſolemn profeſſions to ſupport his pretenſions, yet he was known to be ſecretly inclined to favour the houſe of Sultzbach. In all events, however, he was unwilling to offend either Pruſſia or the palatine family, and was no leſs anxious than France to avoid

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. avoid a public declaration of his future reſolutions.

The Dutch, whoſe territories bordered on Berg and Juliers, were more than any other power intereſted to prevent diſturbances on the death of the elector palatine, and extremely anxious to propoſe ſuch an accommodation as ſhould remove the apprehenſions of a war. They therefore applied to the Emperor and France, and deſired the king of England's concurrence to propoſe inſtant and proper meaſures for obviating the troubles by an accommodation between the contending parties, and preventing all hoſtile aggreſſions while that accommodation was negociating.

George the Second, highly diſguſted with the king of Pruſſia, was averſe to ſupport any meaſures which might tend to his aggrandiſement, and would not eaſily be prevailed on to guaranty his ſucceſſion to Juliers and Berg, unleſs ſome advantage was ſtipulated for himſelf. For this reaſon, the Dutch had propoſed that Eaſt Frieſland, to which both he and the king of Pruſſia had pretenſions, ſhould, on the death of the reigning ſovereign without iſſue, revert to George the Second as elector of Hanover, the right of maintaining a garriſon in Embden being reſerved to the Dutch. They farther recommended, that in conſideration of renouncing all claim on Eaſt Frieſland, ſuch a portion of Juliers and Berg, as might be adjudged to the king of Pruſſia, ſhould be ſecured under the guaranty of England.

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Chapter 46. 1736.

The king ſeemed inclined to conſent to theſe ſtipulations; but the miniſter, ſtrongly averſe to complicated and diſtant guaranties, expreſſed his objections to all interference; declared himſelf againſt prematurely agreeing to guaranty the ſucceſſion of Berg and Juliers, in which they might be left ſingly with the Dutch, or making any declaration which might diſoblige either Pruſſia or the palatine family. He ſtated the great inconveniencies which might ariſe from blending that affair with the general tranſactions then in agitation, when the Emperor and France had agreed to poſtpone the conſideration of it, till the chief buſineſs of the preſent negociation ſhould be concluded. His opinion prevailed, and all thoughts of interference were relinquiſhed. *

Project for a northern league.

The nothern league was the object which moſt embarraſſed the miniſter, and reduced him to the neceſſity of oppoſing the king's inclinations. Roſencrantz, the Daniſh miniſter at Hanover, with a view to benefit his own country, and Mr. Finch, the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, from a deſire of favouring the court at which he was employed, had repreſented to the king the good policy of forming a league between the maritime powers, and Sweden and Denmark. The king, who underſtood the intereſts of Hanover better than thoſe of England, and who could not ſufficiently appreciate the great commercial and naval principles by which the miniſter was actuated in forming

* Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, June $\frac{18}{29}$, 1736. Correſpondence. Thoughts on the Succeſſion of Berg, Juliers, and Eaſt Frieſland, by Horace Walpole. Walpole Papers.—Hiſtory of the Succeſſion to the Duchies of Juliers and Berg.

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ing alliances and giving guaranties, eagerly embraced, and zealouſly ſupported the ſcheme; and with a view to keep the king of Pruſſia in awe, propoſed * the acceſſion of Ruſſia. He communicated his wiſhes to the queen, and requeſted the opinion of Sir Robert Walpole in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently proved to which ſide he inclined. The miniſter diſapproved the meaſure, and conſidered it not only as highly inexpedient, but as abſolutely impracticable. He was convinced that ſuch an alliance with Sweden would offend the Czarina, unleſs ſhe was invited to accede, and that her acceſſion could not be obtained but by guarantying the poſſeſſion of Livonia and Ingria, which would no leſs offend Sweden. In his oſtenſible letter to his brother, Walpole frankly ſtated his objections to precipitate reſolutions, recommended cautious proceedings, and particular attention not to offend the Emperor and Ruſſia, and reprobated expenſive and burthenſome guaranties.

Counteracted by Walpole. Auguſt 15.

As the negociation became more and more complicated, and the king ſeemed inclined to perſevere in his opinion, Walpole prudentially inſinuated, that a matter of ſuch extreme delicacy and importance, ſhould be tranſacted by an official correſpondence, rather than by private letters between the king and queen. The king having approved this propoſal, Horace Walpole was ordered to prepare the project, and received hints from his brother in what manner it ſhould be drawn. Being

* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, Auguſt 5. Correſpondence.

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Being submitted to the king, he highly approved it, and was eager for the conclusion. It was then transmitted to Sir Robert Walpole for the consideration of the queen and the lords justices, and was accompanied by a paper of private observations against the treaty. The minister found this paper so convincing, that although intended for his own use, he communicated it to the queen. Convinced by the soundness of the arguments, she promised to conceal any knowledge of this paper from the king, and to write her sentiments in conformity to that opinion. At the same time, Sir Robert Walpole wrote an ostensible letter to his brother, informing him that he should decline laying the project before the cabinet council, lest the sudden disclosure of so important a transaction, might create surprise and alarm, and proposed to delay the communication until the negociation was farther advanced, the inclination of the norther courts sounded, and the situation of affairs more settled, "that we may see" he adds "who and who are together, before we form new schemes, that may clash with we know not whom nor how." These prudent measures were attended with the desired effect, and the king finally consented to abandon his favourite project *. Chapter 46. 1736.

This whole transaction reflects equal honour on the minister and the king: On the minister, for frankly delivering his sentiments, and persevering in them, though opposite to those of his sovereign;

* Correspondence.

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reign; on the king, for yielding to the arguments and wiſhes of his faithful counſellor. Thoſe who conſider the impatience of contradiction, and pertinacity of opinion, which marked the character of George the Second, will highly appreciate the merit of his ſubmitting to the guidance, and conforming to the advice, which ſo ſtrongly contradicted his own wiſhes.

War between Ruſſia and the Porte.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, hoſtilities broke out between the Ruſſians and Turks, which, in conſequence of the alliances of France and Sweden with the Turks, and of the Emperor with Ruſſia, appeared likely to excite a general war; yet, contrary to theſe expectations, this event contributed more than any other cauſe to accelerate the pacification in Europe. The Emperor, divided between the fear of irritating the Czarina on one hand, and of retarding the peace on the other, and tempted with the hope of ſharing the ſpoils of the Turks, became leſs averſe to the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Bourbon.

Walpole declines mediating.

A mediation between the contending powers had been propoſed by Calkoen, the Dutch miniſter at Conſtantinople, and too eagerly adopted by the Engliſh embaſſador, Sir Everard Fawkener. Walpole was apprehenſive leſt the Czarina ſhould conſtrue a premature officiouſneſs into a partiality for the Porte, and conſider it as an attempt to ſtop the career of that ſucceſs with which her arms were crowned.

He was alarmed, leſt the dignity of England ſhould be lowered by offering the mediation be-

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fore it was desired, without a certainty of its being accepted. He was convinced, that any attempt to reconcile Russia and the Porte, would be fruitless and ineffectual; and he observed, in a letter to Horace Walpole, "For my part, I think you may as well hope to break in upon the constancy of two lovers in the honeymoon, as to stop the career of two powers just engaged in war, in the heat of their resentment, and before they have had time to feel, to reflect, and grow cool." * His advice prevailed also in this instance, and the mediation was declined. Chapter 46. 1736.

The signature of the preliminaries between France and the Emperor, did not, however, produce an immediate pacification. Several months elapsed before the kings of Sardinia and Spain could be prevailed on to accede, and when their concurrence was reluctantly obtained, disputes occasionally revived between France and the Emperor, and a long series of negociation took place before the final ratification. Difficulties in reconciling the Emperor and the allies.

Nor are these delays to be attributed solely to the allies. The Emperor, though a prince of high spirit, and by no means deficient in capacity, was of such a changeful and capricious temper, and appeared so different at different intervals, that to define his real character and situation, confounded the wisdom of the wisest, and baffled the conjectures of the most enlightened. Capricious disposition of the Emperor.

At one time he was so exasperated with England, that he threatened to separate himself from her

* Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, August $\frac{20}{31}$, 1736. Correspondence.

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her for ever, and was so devoted to France, as to induce Mr. Robinson to observe, in a letter to lord Harrington, "This court is too much in the hands of that of Versailles, not to do every thing that the other wills, or to do any thing that the other wills not." At another time he courted England with the greatest eagerness; denounced the house of Bourbon as his irreconcileable enemy; and offended cardinal Fleury by the most arrogant and presumptuous demeanour. With a prince of such a changeful temper, it was no easy task to negociate. His ministers were no less intractable; and Vienna exhibited a motley scene of pride, humility, cabal, intrigue, and procrastination.

June 20.

Dissatisfaction of the duke of Loraine.

Another great difficulty arose from Francis duke of Loraine, who had espoused the eldest archduchess, Maria Theresa, and was unwilling to renounce his family inheritance. He required, that if Loraine was ceded to France before the death of the grand duke of Tuscany, an adequate compensation should be secured to him. Mr. Robinson, in one of his dispatches, gives a pathetic and interesting account of his extreme distress and agitation on this occasion.* "In an audience which I demanded of him, to announce the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess of Saxe Gotha, he interrupted me in the midst of his compliments, to pour out his joy at the marriage, and his respect and veneration for the king, which he first expressed aloud. But left

* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, May 30th, 1736. Walpole Papers.

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left any of his attendants in the next room might overhear; he retreated with me to a window at the farther end of the apartment, and said with the greatest emotion, "Good God, where are you, where are the maritime powers! As for my part," he continued, "I rely upon the king "singly, not upon treaties, not upon formal pro- "mises, but upon what his majesty has told me "over and over again of his goodness for me by "word of mouth." If his words expressed the highest agony and distress, his gestures and actions expressed no less: "He threw himself, in a reclining posture, and in an inconsolable manner, upon the arms and end of an adjoining table and chair." "Such also," adds Mr. Robinson, "is the extreme agitation of his mind, that his health is affected by it; he owns that he has no friend to look up to, and that next to God and the Emperor, all his fortune depends on the king of England."

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Perhaps these complicated disputes would never have been settled without another war, had not the pacific spirit of Walpole and Fleury interposed, and had not the Emperor, eager to make war against the Turks, with a view to indemnify himself on the side of Bosnia, for the loss of Naples and Sicily, found it previously necessary to secure the peace of Italy, that he might draw his troops into Hungary.

Views and conduct of the Emperor.

The French, aware of his inclination, refused, under various pretences, to evacuate the Milanese; the Emperor was induced to make repeated

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conceſſions, and finally to yield the immediate poſſeſſion of Loraine, for the eventual ſucceſſion of Tuſcany. He was ſo eager to conclude the definitive treaty, that he paid 600,000 florins more than he had ſtipulated. He gave to the king of Sardinia, eſtates among the Langhes, as fiefs of the empire, which never belonged to the empire, and ſuffered that monarch to mark the limits of his dominions according to his own convenience. *

Ineffectual attempts to bribe Chauvelin.

In the courſe of theſe various negotiations, Walpole had uſed every effort to conciliate diſcordant parties, and to effect a general accommodation. He well knew that the great obſtacles to a general peace, proceeded from the intrigues of Chauvelin, who, from the time of his appointment to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and keeper of the ſeals, almoſt invariably uſed the aſcendency which he had gained over cardinal Fleury, in counteracting the deſigns of England. To obtain his co-operation, Walpole directed his principal attention, and even adopted the chimerical project of bribing him to compliance. The proſpect of ſucceſs was principally founded on the extravagance of Chauvelin. He lived in a ſtile of great profuſion. He had laid out, and continued to expend large ſums in beautifying his favourite villa of Gros Bois, which vied in magnificence with the royal palaces.

With whom or in what manner the ſcheme originated, the papers under my inſpection do not

* Thomas Robinſon to lord Harrington, Auguſt 5. Grantham Papers.

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not ſupply ſpecific information. Sir Robert Walpole was too cautious to make ſuch attempt, had not ſome favourable circumſtances occurred. It is not improbable that a hint imparted by Trevor, and inſinuated in a letter from Horace Walpole to queen Caroline, might have ſuggeſted the firſt * idea. It was an experiment which the miniſter deemed it imprudent to reject, though he never entertained ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. Perhaps the firſt opening was afforded by Chauvelin himſelf, who, to ſupport his own declining intereſt, was deſirous of ſecuring the aſſiſtance of Sir Robert Walpole, with whom Fleury was anxious to co-operate in eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe. But he had no ſooner effected a temporary re-eſtabliſhment of his credit, than he diſcontinued this private correſpondence, rejected all pecuniary gratifications, refuſed to give any farther information, and became, as before, the inveterate enemy to England. Chapter 46. 1736.

The commencement, progreſs, and termination of this intrigue, are detailed in the private correſpondence which paſſed between Sir Robert Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, and was communicated only to the king. In the ſucceeding year, Chauvelin made another attempt to renew his ſecret offers, in ſuch a manner as induced the earl of Waldegrave to conclude, that he would accept a bribe. Walpole wrote to the Engliſh embaſſador, to avoid being again deceived;

* Horace Walpole to queen Caroline, Auguſt $\frac{1}{12}$, 1735. Correſpondence.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

to offer a large bribe, of not less than £.5 or £.10,000, and if that was not accepted, to obtain the removal of one whom he calls our quondam friend, but now our greatest enemy. *

Fleury proposes an alliance with England.

While this intrigue was in agitation, cardinal Fleury, in a confidential conversation with the earl of Waldegrave, made heavy complaints against the conduct of the British ministers abroad, and proposed, through the channel of Horace Walpole alone, an alliance with England, † to check the ambitious designs of the Emperor, and keep in awe the restless spirit of the queen of Spain, who had so often convulsed Europe to aggrandise her own family. The answer of Horace Walpole began with a spirited remonstrance against the weakness of the cardinal, in listening to all the idle and malicious reports of those who endeavoured to sow dissensions between the two crowns; stated the impossibility of acceding to the proposal of a particular union with France in the present juncture, because Chauvelin would obstruct and disappoint all hopes of bringing it to a successful issue. He concluded with representing, that the king had always had in view the preservation of the tranquillity and equilibrium of Europe; that the numerous treaties which France had made before the late troubles, and the complicated negotiations for the execution of the preliminaries, in which the king had not participated, rendered it impossible to determine

* Sir Robert Walpole to the earl of Waldegrave, September 26, 1726. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole to the earl of Waldegrave, August 8-19th, 1735. Correspondence.

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termine what measures or alliances would be most proper for preserving the balance of power, until the whole plan of the league should be proposed; that if the plan should appear conformable to that great end, the king would support it by every means in his power; and concluded with representing, that the cardinal would always find the king disposed to preserve a good understanding with France. Chapter 46. 1736.

Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal endeavoured to succeed by opening a private correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, the knowledge of whose pacific sentiments, inspired him with the confidence and hopes of imposing upon him, and drawing him in gradually to abet the alliance with France, and by that means to separate the Emperor still more from England. Two conversations which the cardinal held with the earl of Waldegrave on this subject, will serve to shew the art with which he endeavoured to amuse the British cabinet. * Secret correspondence with Walpole.

After delivering his sentiments on the murder of captain Porteous, and recommending lenity to the misled populace who were concerned in that transaction, he represented the necessity of curbing the overgrown power of the Emperor; hinted as his opinion, to be solely communicated to Sir Robert Walpole, that the best method of effecting that end, would be a league of the protestant princes

* The earl of Waldegrave's letters to Sir Robert Walpole, October 23d, and November 21st, 1736. Correspondence.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. princes in Europe, to be propoſed by England, and ſupported by France. In reply to theſe friendly communications, the miniſter commiſſioned lord Waldegrave to expreſs great reſpect for the cardinal, and an earneſt deſire to cultivate his friendſhip, for the mutual honour and intereſt of the two kingdoms. At this, the cardinal interrupting him, expreſſed the higheſt opinion of Sir Robert Walpole's diſtinguiſhed abilities, and particularly expatiated on his integrity and ſpirit, characteriſtics highly neceſſary in the compoſition of a great miniſter. He then propoſed a ſecret correſpondence, through the channel of the earl of Waldegrave, to which, in France, no one ſhould be privy but the king, and in England, only the king and queen; truſting, on his part, that no advantage would be taken, and no hints given of this intercourſe.

Although Sir Robert Walpole was not ignorant, that during theſe overtures, the cardinal had been endeavouring to perſuade the Emperor to conclude a definitive treaty, excluſive of the maritime powers, he neither reproached him for his inſincerity, nor declined the offer of a confidential communication. He on the contrary affected to diſbelieve, while he hinted the report, becauſe, he ſaid, it contradicted the declarations ſo frequently and ſolemnly made by the cardinal, that the maritime powers ſhould be included in all the definitive tranſactions for a treaty, as alſo, becauſe he did not doubt his ſincerity in deſiring a particular alliance with England. Uniformly attached to his grand

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grand principle of promoting peace by whomſoever, or in whatever manner it was effected, he expreſſed his readineſs to concur in all meaſures which might be juſt and honourable to the two nations, and requeſted him to draw up the heads of a definitive treaty. Chapter 46. 1736.

Although the earl of Waldegrave juſtly remarked, from his knowledge of the cardinal's character, that much could not be concluded from theſe private tranſactions, they ſerved, however, to preſerve harmony, and to ſoften the immediate effects of that inveterate jealouſy which had ſo long divided the two nations. The mutual interchange of friendly diſcuſſion ſtrengthened the pacific ſentiments adopted by both miniſters, and prevented the haſty renewal of offenſive meaſures. The outlines of the definitive treaty were ſettled, and the concluſion of the general pacification accelerated. Effect of the Correſpondence.

Another conſiderable advantage was alſo unqueſtionably derived from this private tranſaction. It gave to Sir Robert Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, opportunities of repreſenting the malicious conduct of Chauvelin, and occaſioned, or haſtened his downfal, which took place in the commencement of the enſuing year, and to which the repreſentations of Waldegrave greatly contributed. Diſgrace of Chauvelin.

Before the diſmiſſion of Chauvelin, an intereſting correſpondence had paſſed between the two brothers and the other miniſters, relating to a curious incident that happened to the earl of The Pretender's letters.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Waldegrave at Paris. Chauvelin having, among other papers, by miſtake, put into his hands a letter from the Pretender, the embaſſador ſent it by a courier to the queen. Immediate information was forwarded by Newcaſtle to the king at Hanover, with the remarks of Sir Robert Walpole. Several letters paſſed between the miniſter in London, Horace Walpole at Hanover, and the earl of Waldegrave at Paris, which prove the extreme uneaſineſs and jealouſy excited by this diſcovery.

Jacobitiſm at that time produced a tremor through every nerve of government; and the ſlighteſt incident which diſcovered any intercourſe between the Pretender and France, occaſioned the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. It was no wonder, therefore, that this event ſhould ſpread alarms, which the obſervations of the two brothers were calculated to obviate. The letters which paſſed on this occaſion, are given in order of date, and are ſufficiently explicit without any farther illuſtrations. *

Riots in London. During the abſence of the king at Hanover, where he remained till the beginning of January, the ſpirit of diſcontent and inſurrection was buſy at home; and various tumults took place in the capital, and other parts of the kingdom. In the capital, theſe diſturbances were occaſioned by the weavers in Spitalfields, who took umbrage that the Iriſh were employed at an inferior rate of wages; and by the diſcontent of the populace, excited by the execution of the gin act.

Theſe

* Correſpondence. Period VI. Article, the Pretender's Letter.

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Chapter 46. 1736. And Edinburgh.

Theſe alarming riots, which were notoriouſly fomented by the diſaffected, were ſcarcely ſuppreſſed, when a more atrocious outrage demanded the attention of government. One Wilſon, a daring ſmuggler, was ſentenced to be hanged at Edinburgh, for having robbed a collector of the revenue. This man, having abetted the eſcape of a fellow criminal, in the time of divine ſervice, and from the midſt of his guards, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh increaſed their uſual precautions for the execution of the ſentence, by ordering the officers of the train bands and the city guard, provided with arms and ammunition, to attend for the purpoſe of preventing his reſcue. The proceſſion paſſed along; the ſentence was performed without the ſmalleſt appearance of riot, and the executioner was at the top of the ladder cutting down the body, when the magiſtrates retired. At this moment, the populace ruſhed forward towards the gallows, part forced their way through the guards, with intention, as was ſuppoſed, to carry off the body, under the hopes of recovering it. Others threw large ſtones, maimed ſeveral ſoldiers, and ſtruck captain Porteous, who was ſo provoked at this outrage, that he ordered the ſoldiers to fire. Five were killed, and ſeveral wounded. Porteous was immediately apprehended, and tried, for having directed the ſoldiers to fire without the orders of the civil magiſtrate, and was condemned to death. But ſo many favourable circumſtances appeared on his trial, that ſeven of the fifteen jurymen acquitted him, and the verdict

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dict which condemned him, acknowledged that "he and his guards were attacked and beat with "several ſtones of a conſiderable bigneſs, thrown "by the multitude, whereby ſeveral of the ſol-"diers were bruiſed and wounded." * In conſequence of this ridiculous inconſiſtency in the verdict, and other favourable circumſtances, the queen regent ſent down a reſpite of ſix weeks, for the purpoſe of inquiring into the circumſtances of the caſe.

On the 3d, the reprieve was brought to Edinburgh, and on the 4th, vague reports were circulated, that the populace had reſolved, on the evening of the 8th, to ſet fire to the priſon, if Porteous was not executed on that day, according to his ſentence. But the magiſtrates, on inquiry, could not diſcover any foundation for the report, and no precaution was taken to remove the priſoner into the caſtle. On Tueſday the 7th, about a quarter before ten at night, the magiſtrates had notice, that a few boys had ſeized the drum in the ſuburb of Weſt Port, and beat it in the Graſs Market within the city. About ſix minutes before ten, they ſent to call out the guard immediately under arms; but a few minutes before the clock ſtruck, a mob ſuddenly ruſhed in upon, and ſurpriſed the guards, drove them from the guard room, ſeized all their arms, being ninety firelocks in number, beſides ſeveral Lochaber axes, and almoſt at the ſame time made themſelves maſters

* Trial and Sentence. Political State, 1736; and Gentleman's Magazine.

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masters of the city gates. They then provided themselves with shot, by breaking open the shops where ammunition was sold, attacked the jail, drove out the provosts and magistrates, who attempted to disperse them, and wounded several of their attendants. They next set fire to the gate of the prison, and rushed into the wards, forced the turnkeys to open the doors, released all the prisoners, seized Porteous, and dragged him to the Grass Market, where they broke into a shop, took out a coil of ropes, and hung him upon a dyer's cross post, close to the common place of execution. * Lindsay, member for the city, found means to escape from the town, and to convey information of the tumult to general Moyle, commander of the king's troops, who were quartered in the suburbs; but as he was obliged to make a large circuit, he did not reach the head quarters till near eleven. General Moyle had already collected his own troops, and sent for those who were quartered at Leith, but made no attempt to force the gate of the city, which was occupied by the armed populace. He persisted in refusing to act against the insurgents, on the faith of Lindsay's intelligence, without an order from the civil magistrate; and as he deemed it impossible to obtain an order from the magistrates in the city, he dispatched a messenger to Andrew Fletcher, lord justice clerk of Scotland, who was at his villa at the distance of above two miles and a half. Fletcher being in bed, no answer was procured until

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Murder of Porteous.

* Narrative of the Tumult. Correspondence.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. until one o'clock, and by ſome miſtake, it was then delivered not to the general, but to Lindſay. Meanwhile the execution of Porteous had taken place, the exertions of the military were rendered unneceſſary, by the diſperſion of the rioters, and in the morning, Edinburgh was in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

Lord Ilay was ſent to Edinburgh, as the only perſon capable of bringing the offenders to juſtice. The accounts * which he tranſmitted to Sir Robert Walpole, proved that a regular ſyſtematic plan had been formed with the utmoſt ſecrecy and order; that ſeveral made this infamous murder a point of conſcience; and that one of the actors went to a country church, where the ſacrament was given to a large number of people in the church-yard, and boaſted of the ſhare which he had taken in the tranſaction. He obſerved, that perſons who affected ſanctity, ſpoke of the murder as the hand of God doing juſtice, and reprobated all endeavours to bring the actors to condign puniſhment, as grievous perſecution. He added alſo, that although ſeveral perſons had been impriſoned, and large rewards offered, no diſcoveries had been made of the perpetrators or inſtigators of this atrocious act.

* Correſpondence.

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CHAPTER THE FORTY-SEVENTH:

1737.

Meeting of Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Proceedings:—On the Bill reſpecting the Tumults at Edinburgh.—On Sir John Barnard's Scheme for the Reduction of Intereſt.—Licentiouſneſs of the Stage.—Origin and Progreſs of the Playhouſe Bill.

THIS ſeſſion of parliament, which opened on the 1ſt of February, was as unquiet and ſtormy, as the laſt had been eaſy and tranquil. Meeting of parliament.

The parliamentary proceedings which it is neceſſary to notice, are the debates reſpecting the tumults in Edinburgh; Sir John Barnard's propoſal for the reduction of intereſt; the playhouſe bill, and the motion for an addreſs to the king, to ſettle £. 100,000 per annum on the prince of Wales. Parliamentary proceedings.

The ſpeech from the throne noticed the late diſturbances, but without any ſpecific mention of the tumult at Edinburgh. It was anſwered by loyal addreſſes from both houſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of ſuch outrages, and their reſolution to ſupport the royal authority in ſuppreſſing all riotous and ſeditious attempts, which threatened the very being of the conſtitution. The miniſter, however, ſeems to have been embarraſſed in what manner to introduce the inquiry. Fortunately, lord Carteret relieved him from this dilemma. Although he was in violent oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration, yet he juſtly thought On the murder of Porteous. In the houſe of lords.

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thought that the indignity committed againſt the eſtabliſhed government, ſhould not remain unpuniſhed. He accordingly referred to that part of the ſpeech which alluded to the tumults in various parts of the kingdom. After arguing that theſe riots did not proceed from diſaffection to government, and complaining, that notwithſtanding the power with which the civil magiſtrate was armed, the military force had been employed in ſuppreſſing them, he adverted to the murder of captain Porteous, which he particularly ſtigmatiſed as a moſt atrocious deed; obſerving that the conſpiracy which had effected it was the more dreadful, becauſe it was concerted and executed with great deliberation and method, and was attended with no other diſorder. He was of opinion, that ſome citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder; that the magiſtrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; he concluded with expreſſing hopes that an inquiry would be made into the particulars and circumſtances of the caſe.

The duke of Newcaſtle and the lord chancellor, after contending for the neceſſity of employing the military force in ſuppreſſing riots and putting the laws in execution, and juſtifying the reprieve of captain Porteous, did not reſiſt or promote the inveſtigation propoſed by lord Carteret; they only argued for a general inquiry into the cauſes and circumſtances of the riot, and not for a ſpecific inquiry into the diſturbances. Carteret, in reply, maintained the neceſſity of a particular inquiry, and

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and of confining it to the tumult at Edinburgh. The earl of Ilay, after oppoſing the forfeiture of the charter, and obſerving that the outrages had originated from diſaffection to government, declared himſelf in favour of a particular inquiry, and expreſſed his readineſs to join in any propoſition for that purpoſe. A motion was accordingly made by Carteret, for the attendance of the magiſtrates, and other perſons who could give the neceſſary information, and for an addreſs to the king, that copies of the trial of captain Porteous, and the account of the murder, ſhould be laid before the houſe.

In conſequence of this motion, which paſſed without oppoſition, the reſpective documents were produced. In examining the proceedings of the trial, it plainly appeared that Porteous was fully juſtified, from the principles of ſelf-defence, in firing upon the mob, and that the reprieve granted by the queen was founded on law and juſtice; and as the conſtitution of the criminal law in Scotland was different from that in England, it appeared incomprehenſible to moſt of the peers, that a perſon could be condemned to death, upon a verdict ſo inconſiſtent with common juſtice. Accordingly, it was ſuggeſted by Carteret, to declare the verdict erroneous; this propoſal was oppoſed by the earl of Ilay and the lord chancellor, and no motion was made. *

Having thus juſtified the proceedings of government, the next object was to diſcover thoſe who

* Lords' Debate.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. who were concerned in the murder, and to puniſh all who either concerted or connived at it. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, the commander in chief of the forces, Lindſay, member for the city, as well as the Scots judges, were ſeverally and ſeparately examined at the bar. Their allegations, however, were confuſed and unſatisfactory; but proofs appeared that the magiſtrates had not been ſufficiently active in preventing the riſing of the mob, or in ſuppreſſing it when excited. Yet no legal evidence was obtained to convict them, nor did it appear that any of the citizens had been acceſſary to the murder, and not a ſingle perſon was diſcovered who had been concerned in it. Notwithſtanding this deficiency, the majority of the peers thought it neceſſary to bring in a bill of pains and penalties againſt the provoſt and city, for conniving at, or not preventing the perpetration of ſo atrocious a deed.

The bill was oppoſed in a very animated ſpeech by the duke of Argyle, who contended that it was an ex poſt facto law, puniſhing a whole community for crimes within the reach of the inferior courts of juſtice. It was nevertheleſs carried by a majority of 54 againſt 22, and ſent down to the commons, under the title of "An Act to diſable Alexander Wilſon, eſquire, from taking, holding, or enjoying, any office or place of magiſtracy, in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere, in Great Britain, for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon, and for aboliſhing the guard kept up in the ſaid city, commonly called the town guard; and

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for taking away the gates of the Nether Bow Port of the ſaid city, and keeping open the ſame." Chapter 47. 1737.

Such was the title, and ſuch were the penalties of this famous bill, as it was ſent to the commons. It is certain, the miniſterial party in the houſe of peers, had not thoroughly conſidered the nature of the Scottiſh conſtitution, as left by the act of union; nor was the evidence ſufficient for juſtifying the ſeverities contained in the bill. Wilſon, the lord provoſt, was a weak well-meaning man, and had acted to the beſt of his courage and capacity; and the greateſt imputation fixed on him by evidence, was his not having been active in arming the citizens the day before the riot had happened, when only vague rumours were whiſpered. With reſpect to the penalties inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh, doubts were raiſed whether they could regularly be impoſed, even by a Britiſh parliament, conſiſtently with the articles of union. *

In the houſe of commons.

Accordingly, the oppoſition was violent and ſtrenuous; moſt of the perſons who had appeared at the houſe of lords, were again examined before the commons; petitions were received; and counſel heard againſt the bill. The Scottiſh members who were affected by the ſtigma to be affixed on their capital, and looked upon the queſtion as a national concern, uniformly oppoſed, and many of them, particularly Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate of Scotland, diſplayed great abilities. On

* Tindal.

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On every reading it produced freſh debates, and in one inſtance, was carried only by the caſting voice of colonel Bladen, the chairman of the committee.

Walpole ſpoke only on the firſt reading, and then he ſaid but a few words in reply to thoſe who objected to the bill, becauſe it originated in the houſe of lords. He obſerved, that he was as jealous of their right as any other gentleman could be, but thought too ſcrupulous a jealouſy at this time might be attended with the worſt conſequences. In reply to an obſervation of Duncan Forbes, that tenderneſs ought to be ſhewn to the corporations and boroughs which the commons repreſented, eſpecially thoſe of Scotland, he urged that the commitment of the bill was the greateſt mark of tenderneſs which could be ſhewn. It was to puniſh, in an exemplary manner, a practice that had been too much encouraged; a practice, which if not ſuppreſſed, muſt deſtroy the right of all corporations, and perhaps aboliſh the privileges of the houſe, and the very form of the conſtitution. He concluded, by ſaying, that gentlemen would not oppoſe the bill without better reaſons than any that had yet appeared. He did not enter into the merits, or diſcuſs the proofs of the objections urged by the Scottiſh lawyers, but left thoſe points to be argued by the attorney and ſolicitor general. He by no means made it a miniſterial queſtion. In the houſe of lords, ſome of his friends had promoted and others reſiſted it, and on one queſtion, the duke of Newcaſtle and lord chancellor

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chancellor Hardwicke had voted on different ſides. The ſame circumſtance occurred in the houſe of commons. Some of the moſt violent oppoſers of government befriended the bill, and others abſented themſelves while it was depending. He was moſt anxious that the queen ſhould be juſtified for granting the reprieve, and that ſome puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the magiſtrates, as an example to deter others, and to render the civil power reſponſible for outrages committed in their juriſdiction: a ſalutary and eſſential act of policy.

When theſe points were gained, he was not inclined to enforce the penalties. He ſuffered therefore the bill to be modified and mitigated. That part which ordered the abolition of the city guard, and the demolition of the gates, was omitted, and in the whole was reduced to an act "for diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the provoſt, from taking, holding, or enjoying, any office, or place of magiſtracy, in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere, in Great Britain, and for impoſing a fine upon the ſaid corporation, of £. 2,000, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous." * The bill, however, thus mitigated and rendered "ſtingleſs †," met with unceaſing oppoſition, and after having narrowly eſcaped being thrown out, was ſent back to the lords, who agreed to the amendments, and it finally received the royal aſſent.

While this act was in agitation, another paſſed the

* Tindal. † Ibid.

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the lords, and was ſent down to the commons, "For the more effectual bringing to juſtice, any perſons concerned in the barbarous murder of captain John Porteous, and puniſhing ſuch as ſhall knowingly conceal any of the ſaid offenders." This bill was of a ſevere nature, and was directed to be read, for a ſtated time, by the eſtabliſhed clergy of Scotland, in their pulpits, every Sunday. Amongſt other clauſes, it contained an indemnity to any perſon who was concerned in the murder, provided he diſcovered and convicted an accomplice, before the firſt of February. This clauſe was added to the bill by the commons, as was alſo another, promiſing "a reward of £.200 to any one who ſhould diſcover, and convict, by their evidence, any perſon concerned in the murder." Theſe proviſions were by many thought too ſevere, and cenſured as giving too great encouragement to informers. The Scots, when the act was read to them, treated it with the utmoſt contempt; and though many thouſands were publicly concerned in the murder, and ſome of them tried, yet none were legally convicted. *

Theſe proceedings augmented the unpopularity of the miniſter, by inflaming the reſentment of Scotland, and facilitated the efforts of the duke of Argyle, to return, at the next elections, a majority of the Scots members in favour of oppoſition.

Propoſal for the reduction of intereſt.

Sir Robert Walpole incurred great cenſure by the

* Tindal, vol. 2d. p. 344.—The reader is referred for the above particulars, to the Correſpondence—Lords' Debates—Chandler—Journals—Tindal—Political State of Great Britain.

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the alienation of the finking fund; and has been exposed to no less obloquy, for his opposition to Sir John Barnard's scheme, for reducing the interest of the national debt. He has been accused by party, prejudice, or misapprehension, of the meanest motives for adopting this line of conduct: motives so contradictory, that they refute each other. By some,* he was suspected of having clandestinely promoted the introduction of the bill. It was insinuated that, at first, he intended it should pass; and that he only deferred the measure until the queen, who was supposed to have a million in the funds, could sell out to advantage. Others,† on the contrary, ascribe his opposition to the mean spirit of jealousy, and reproach the minister with having exerted the whole power of government, that he might deprive Sir John Barnard of his due applause. Chapter 47. 1737.

In the committee of supply the minister moved a resolution, that a sum of one million should be taken from the finking fund, and applied to redeem a million of old South Sea annuities. The motion was opposed by several members, principally of the minority, who argued for the expediency of appropriating that sum to the discharge of the debt due to the bank, because the interest paid to the bank was six per cent. whereas that on the other parts of the public debt did not exceed four. They accordingly proposed the amendment; but the original motion was carried without a division. March 9.

On

* Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 45.

† Sinclair on the Revenue, chap. 5.

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Sir John Barnard's ſcheme.

On the 14th of March the reſolution was reported and agreed to.* On this occaſion, Sir John Barnard propoſed, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the national debt, and to receive any propoſal which might be made to reduce the intereſt to three per cent. The miniſter, after a few obſervations on the danger of meddling with public credit, or taking any ſtep which might be likely to affect it, without the moſt mature reflection, declared that he had no objection to a committee, becauſe time would be allowed for deliberation; and concluded, that if any reaſonable ſcheme for reducing the intereſt ſhould be then propoſed, he ſhould readily agree to it.

On the 18th, the account of the national debt, which amounted to £.47,866,596, was produced. On the 21ſt, the houſe reſolved into a committee of ſupply, and Sir John Barnard brought forward his ſcheme. With a view to popularity, it was called, a propoſal towards lowering the intereſt of all the redeemable debts to three per cent. and thereby to enable the parliament *to give immediate eaſe to his majeſty's ſubjects*, by taking off ſome of the taxes which are moſt burthenſome to the poor, and eſpecially to the manufacturers, as likewiſe *to give eaſe to the people*, by leſſening the annual taxes for the current ſervice of the year. †

Though

* Journals.

† The propoſal was as follows;

"That an offer be made to the proprietors of the South Sea Annuities, as well old as new, at ſuch times as the reſpective transfer books ſhall be ſhut, in the following manner; viz. That all perſons be

Though the principle of the measure was such as to intitle its founder to expect much popularity, yet as the interests and prejudices of many persons were to be combated, great opposition was excited, Chapter 47. 1737.

be at liberty to make their option for the whole, or any part of their capital of one or more of the particulars undermentioned, for which books be laid open at the South Sea house, for so long time as shall be thought proper; viz. All who desire to be paid their money, to enter their names and sums in one book. Those who shall chuse to have annuities for certain terms of years, and the capital to be annihilated, may subscribe in particular books for that purpose, at the following rates:

"For 47	Years at	4	per Cent.	per Ann.
31	Years at	5	-	-
23½	Years at	6	-	-
19	Years at	7	-	-
16	Years at	8	-	-
13½	Years at	9	-	-
12	Years at	10	-	-

"That the proprietors of so much of the capital, as shall not be claimed in money, nor subscribed into some of the annuities for terms of years, shall, for the future, be intitled to an annuity of 3 per cent. per annum only. And for the encouragement of the annuitants to accept of 3 per cent. per annum, it is proposed, that they be not subject to redemption or diminution of their annuities for the term of 14 years. And that all the annuities for terms of years be transferable at the South Sea house, without any charge; as well as the annuities which shall be continued at 3 per cent. per annum. And that all the annuities for terms of years, commence from the determination of the annuities of 4 per cent. without any loss of time. It is apprehended, that this offer will be more beneficial to the proprietors than the remaining in their present situation, and receiving a million at a time, to be divided alternately between the old and the new annuitants, which must affect them in a very high manner, as it tends greatly to reduce their capital, by continual laying out the money paid off in new annuities at advanced prices.

"If the parliament should be willing to indulge any persons, not being foreigners, who may be advanced in years, with annuities for term of life; the following rates are submitted to the consideration of gentlemen who have turned their thoughts to this subject; viz.

To persons 44	Years old,	or upwards,	7 per Cent.	for Life.
53	-	-	-	8
59	-	-	-	9
63	-	-	-	10

"If these rates for lives, or any other rates, should be thought convenient to be offered; it is then proposed, that the old and new

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cited, and the ſtores of argument and calculation exhauſted in defending the plan.

March 21. Sir John Barnard moved, in a committee of ſupply, "that his majeſty be enabled to raiſe money, either by ſale of annuities for years or lives, at ſuch rates as ſhould be preſcribed, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old and new South Sea annuities, and that ſuch of the annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others."

This motion occaſioned long debates. It was principally defended by the landed, and reſiſted by the monied intereſt, and the miniſter's friends were divided. The houſe did not appear inclined to adopt any ſpecific determination; ſome of thoſe who were averſe to the meaſure, declared themſelves incapable of giving their opinion, without due reflection and more information. They moved, therefore, that the farther conſideration ſhould be deferred till that day ſe'nnight, which was agreed to without oppoſition. This point being carried, the adverſaries of the bill made another effort, which was attended with ſucceſs. It had been urged as an objection, that a conſiderable part of the South Sea annuities belonged to widows

annuitants be permitted to ſubſcribe any part of their capital, they being within the limitation of years above expreſſed; and that none of the propoſals foregoing be made for ready money; becauſe it is reaſonable that the preſent creditors ſhould have the preference in any advantageous offer made by the parliament, as this is apprehended to be, ſince money may be raiſed at 3 per cent. per annum, with a liberty of redeeming the ſame at pleaſure."

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widows and orphans, and to perſons who were proprietors of ſmall ſums: this ſuggeſtion had a great effect upon the houſe. Willing therefore to take advantage of this impreſſion, they moved on the following day, that an account ſhould be laid before the houſe, of the quantity of old and new South Sea annuity ſtock, holden by any executors, adminiſtrators, or truſtees; which accounts were preſented on the enſuing Friday. Chapter 4th. 1737.

Hitherto the miniſter took no public part, either for or againſt the ſcheme; although he was generally ſuppoſed * to be inclined in its favour. But from this period he was determined to oppoſe it, though he thought it prudent to act with circumſpection, as many members, who were perſonally attached to him, favoured the meaſure. In this ſituation the miniſter had watched the progreſs of public opinion, and found it decidedly adverſe to the propoſal, which excited the moſt violent clamours among the proprietors of the funds.

During the adjournment of the buſineſs, the miniſterial papers were filled with objections to the meaſure, and a perſpicuous ſtatement †, expoſing

* Robert Trevor to Horace Walpole, April 19, 1737. Correſpondence. Opinions of the duchess of Marborough.

† "As I can by no means approve of the ſcheme, publiſhed in your paper of Saturday laſt, for reducing the intereſt of the national debt to 3 per cent. I ſhall, for the ſake of thoſe who are not acquainted with calculations of this kind, make a few obſervations on the propoſed method of reduction, that ſuch proprietors of the public funds may ſee how far their intereſts are like to be affected by it. And, in the firſt place, I obſerve, that the annuities propoſed for certain terms of years are calculated at compound intereſt, allowing the annuitants 3 per cent. for their money, and the ſurplus of the annuity is to reimburſe them their purchaſe money at the ſame rate of intereſt."

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posing its inexpediency, appeared in the Whitehall Evening Post, which was either drawn up by the minister himself, or approved by him. In the same paper, of the 26th, an appeal was made to the feelings and passions of the public, in which the

"To explain this, I shall fix upon the first annuity proposed, which is 4 per cent. for 47 years, at the end of which the capital is to be annihilated. By this proposal, the purchaser is to receive 3 per cent. interest, and the remaining 1 per cent. is to reimburse the purchase money in the term proposed at compound interest; but I cannot think this a fair method of computation in the present case; for, although it be true, that £.1 per annum will, in 47 years, amount to £.100 at compound interest; yet it is highly improbable, if not impossible, that interest upon interest, or indeed any interest at all, should be made of such small sums for 47 years running, as must be done, to raise the sum advanced; and therefore such a method of calculation must be fallacious, and nothing but the surplus of the annuity can be safely relied on for reimbursement of the purchase money; and then it will be evident to the meanest capacity, that if the annuitants are allowed 3 per cent. for their purchase money, they will, at the end of 47 years, have received no more than 47 per cent. of their principal; and in all the other cases the purchasers of the proposed annuities will be considerable losers; only it is to be observed, that the shorter the term is, the less the loss will be; for if the annuity be 7 per cent. for 19 years, the purchasers will receive back 76 per cent. and if 10 per cent. be allowed for 12 years, they will receive back 84 per cent. of their principal money: the reason of which is very obvious to those who know, that compound interest is a series of geometrick progression.

"Secondly, I observe, that if, out of any of the proposed annuities, there is annually reserved a sum sufficient to reimburse the purchase money, the annuitants will not receive an interest of 2 per cent. upon their principal. And for the proof of this, I shall only take notice of the two extremes and middle term in the annuities proposed; by which it will appear, that if £.2 out of £.4 be reserved for 47 years, it will raise no more than £.94; and if £.5 out of £.7 be reserved for 19 years, it will amount to no more than £.95, and £.8 out of £.10 for 12 years, will give only £.96.

"Thirdly, It is to be observed, that the method proposed will not enable the parliament to give immediate ease to his majesty's subjects, by taking off some of the taxes which are most burthensome to the poor, and especially to the manufacturers; for, by the first proposal, the same annual interest which is now paid, viz. 4 per cent, is to be continued for 47 years; and consequently the taxes by which that interest is raised must be continued for that term, which will give but small relief to the present generation. And in all the other cases, the annual interest must be augmented, instead of being reduced: for if the proprietors of £.20,000,000 of the public debts could be supposed to accept any of these annuities upon the terms proposed, the annual

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the bill was described, as tending to ruin trade, to depopulate the capital, to impoverish widows and orphans, to reduce the farmers to day labourers, and the sons of noblemen and gentlemen to farmers. Chapter 47. 1737.

These exaggerated declamations made a deep impression on the public mind. When the house met on the 28th to resume the consideration of the bill, Sir John Barnard entered into a full explanation Sir John Barnard's speech.

annual interest must then be increased in the following manner; viz.

	£.
For 31 Years -	- 200,000 per Ann.
23¼ Years -	- 400,000
19 Years -	- 600,000
16 Years -	- 800,000
13¼ Years -	- 1,000,000
12 Years -	- 1,200,000

"Fourthly, I observe, That the other part of the scheme, which relates to annuities upon lives, is liable to the same objection: for if the proposed annuities are taken at a medium of 8½ per cent. and the lives are supposed at a medium to continue 18 years (which very nearly coincides with the rules laid down for finding the number of years due to any given life) then it will be evident that a further interest of 4¼ per cent. must be raised to pay such annuities, which will more than double the present annual interest.

"Fifthly, It is to be observed, that this scheme is not calculated for the good of the whole, but, according to the old proverb, to rob Peter to pay Paul, or, to remove the burthen from one part of the community, and lay it upon another, and upon that part too which hath already contributed no less than six shillings and eight-pence in the pound towards lessening the public debts. I am unwilling to charge the author with an intention to oppress the proprietors of the public funds, though his scheme manifestly tends to it: but why does his tenderness lie all on one side? Is there no part of it due to those widows and orphans, who have no other way of subsistence, but the income of small fortunes in government securities? For my part, I cannot perceive the honesty or policy of easing one part of the community, by distressing another; neither can I apprehend any wisdom or justice in making invidious distinctions between the landed and monied interest, since it is in a great measure owing to those, who ventured their fortunes in the public funds, that the Protestant part of this nation have any lands or liberties left. I do therefore hope that their present interest will not be lessened; but if nothing else will serve, I am persuaded I can propose a way of doing it that will be the least injurious to them of any that can be thought of, which, if called upon, I am ready to publish."

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planation of his ſcheme, and laboured with great addreſs and ability to obviate theſe popular objections. He went over all the grounds of political expediency, and in the courſe of a very long and ingenious explanation, urged, that in every view of the ſubject, relating to the extenſion of commerce, both domeſtic and foreign, to the encouragement of induſtry, the increaſe of population, the augmentation of the manufactures, and the improvement of agriculture, this plan would be attended with the moſt extenſive and beneficial conſequences. He ſaid, that even thoſe public ſecurities which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only, were ſold at a premium in Change Alley: he was, therefore, perſuaded, that all thoſe who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. ſecurity, would gladly lend their money to government for the ſame intereſt, ſhould books of ſubſcription be opened for that purpoſe, with an aſſurance, that no part of the principal ſhould be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated on the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of intereſt. From a long ſeries of calculations, he inferred, that in a very little time the intereſt upon all the South Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent, without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the ſinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thouſand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the ſeveral trading companies; he proved that this meaſure would bring

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bring every one of them ſo much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. intereſt on any reaſonable terms; in which caſe the ſinking fund would riſe to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, ſoap, leather, and other ſuch impoſitions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers: the remaining part of the ſinking fund might be applied towards the diſcharge of thoſe annuities and public debts, which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only, and afterwards, towards diminiſhing the capitals of the ſeveral trading companies, till the term of fourteen years ſhould be expired; then the ſinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be ſufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances *. Chapter 47. 1737.

Walpole, among others, replied to this ſtatement, but his arguments were confined to ſhew that the time was improper for the reduction of intereſt †. He was fully convinced that the propoſal, in the ſhape it was offered by Sir John Barnard, was neither expedient or practicable. It became neceſſary therefore either to amend or throw it out. To throw it out by direct oppoſition, was not in his power, as notwithſtanding its increaſing unpopularity without doors, it ſtill ſeemed Indirectly oppoſed by Walpole.

* Chandler. Smollett's Hiſtory of England, vol. 2, p. 521.
† Chandler.

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ſeemed agreeable to the general ſenſe of the houſe, and was warmly ſupported by many of the members who were perſonally attached to him. His confidential friend, Mr. Howe, afterwards Lord Chedworth, had propoſed the ſcheme in the higheſt terms of approbation. He ſaid that the country gentlemen would be benefited by the reduction; that the landed intereſt required, and were intitled to relief, that the land had hitherto been loaded with all the burthens, while the funds had borne none; and that their neceſſities had ariſen from the abundance of the ſtocks *. Under theſe circumſtances, Walpole, apprehenſive that it would be carried with all its imperfections, adopted indirect means of throwing it out. At the cloſe of the debate, his friend Winnington propoſed to extend the reduction to all the redeemable debts. He obſerved, that he would not enter into the queſtion, whether a reduction of intereſt would tend to the advantage of the nation, or whether the natural intereſt of money lent on public ſecurity was below three per cent. But ſhould both be reſolved in the affirmative, according to the principles of the bill, he muſt condemn the injuſtice and partiality of confining the reduction to the South Sea annuities. He was of opinion, that it ought to be extended in its operation to all the public creditors. Theſe, he concluded, were his ſentiments, and if they were approved by the houſe, he ſhould move for reſolutions to redeem all

Propoſal extended.

* Heads of Mr. Howe's Speech; Parliamentary Memorandums. Orford Papers.

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all public debts that were redeemable by law, and to enable the king to borrow money at three per cent. for that purpoſe. Chapter 4. 1737.

Theſe obſervations ſeemed to meet the general ſentiments of the houſe, and Sir John Barnard could not venture to oppoſe them. He obſerved, however, that the propoſal was intended to fruſtrate his ſcheme, by introducing ſuch amendments as muſt render it abortive, according to the old proverb, "Graſp at all, and loſe all." He added, that although government could borrow money at three per cent. ſufficient to pay off ſo many proprietors of the South Sea annuities as were willing to accept that intereſt, becauſe their united ſtock did not exceed twenty-four millions, yet it would be extremely difficult to obtain ſuch a loan as would diſcharge the whole of the redeemable fund, which amounted to forty-four millions. But as the ſcheme, even thus amended, might be productive of ſignal advantage to the nation, he ſhould not oppoſe it, and he hoped the honourable gentleman would move for ſuch a reſolution as he had juſt intimated. Two reſolutions were accordingly moved for by Winnington. They contained in ſubſtance, "That all the public funds, redeemable by law, which carry an intereſt of four per cent. per annum, be redeemed according to the reſpective proviſos or clauſes of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or (with conſent of the proprietors) be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding three per cent. per annum, not redeemable

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able till after fourteen years. That his majesty be enabled to borrow from any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, any sum or sums of money, at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the national debt." *

March 30.

These resolutions being reported, and carried by a majority of 220 to 157; in which division Walpole appeared in the minority, Sir John Barnard, Wortley Montague, and the master of the rolls, were ordered to prepare a bill accordingly. †

Motion for abolition of taxes.

Sir John Barnard, however, had not sufficient discretion to be satisfied with this partial victory; instead of weakening the resistance to his favourite scheme, by making it as much as possible a great national object, he on the contrary united a numerous body of adversaries, lost the vantage ground on which he before stood, and reduced it to a mere party question. He followed up the report by moving, "that the house would, as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to £.3 per cent. per annum, take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor, and the manufacturer." ‡

His view in making this unprecedented motion, was to attach popularity to his bill; but it had a contrary effect, for it was proved to be fallacious, illusory, and irregular. It was fallacious, because it assumed as facts, statements that were not

* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 452. † Tindal. Chandler. Journals.
‡ Journals.

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not true; that the public impoſts fell more heavily upon the poor in England, than in other countries, and implied, that the reduction of the intereſt from four to three per cent. would compenſate for the loſs of the revenue, if thoſe taxes were aboliſhed. It was illuſory, becauſe it held out a proſpect of taking off the taxes ſeveral years before the reduction could be effected; and it was irregular, becauſe it bound future parliaments to the adoption of a meaſure which might not at a future time be feaſible. It was ably and unanſwerably argued by the miniſter, and thoſe who oppoſed it, that to agree to the reſolution, would be expoſing the public to unavoidable diſappointment, "that it would be time enough to come to a reſolution to aboliſh ſome taxes, when the ſcheme had taken effect, for if ſuch a previous reſolution ſhould be adopted, and the ſcheme ſhould afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole world would laugh at their precipitancy." Chapter 47. 1737.

In the ſpeech which Sir John Barnard made in defence of this motion, he betrayed ſuch a confuſion of projects, and indiſtinctneſs of ideas, aſſumed ſo many principles which were untrue, and ſo violently tranſgreſſed the bounds of parliamentary engagement, that the motion was negatived, by 200 againſt 142, and the public clamour very much heightened. Rejected.

Under theſe unfavourable circumſtances, the bill, prepared on the baſis of Winnington's reſolutions, was preſented to the houſe by Sir John Barnard, and it was read the firſt time. On the Bill introduced. April 22.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. 29th, the bill was read a ſecond time, and a motion being made for recommitting it, it was no leſs reſolutely ſupported than vigorouſly attacked. Several ſpeakers on both ſides had been heard before Walpole delivered his ſentiments.

Walpole's ſpeech. He began by denying the truth of an aſſertion, which had been aſſiduouſly diſſeminated, that Sir John Barnard had held private conferences with him, and ſettled the ſcheme then in agitation. He proceeded to review his own conduct during its progreſs; acknowledged that he had acquieſced in the committee, but that on the firſt reading, feeling ſome doubts on the propriety of the meaſure, he had deſired time to weigh maturely its beneficial againſt its evil conſequences. "But whatever doubts," he continued, "I might then entertain, deliberate reflection has removed them, and convinced me of its inefficiency.

"The meaſure is founded on plauſible aſſumptions, that it is better to pay three than four per cent. and that it is deſirable to diſcharge the debt of the nation. Theſe poſitions are undoubtedly true, but the queſtion is, whether the method propoſed to effect them is juſt and adequate? We muſt take care not to confound public neceſſity with public utility. Public utility differs eſſentially from profit or benefit gained to the public; for when profit accrues to the public, at the expence of many individuals, it loſes all claim to conſideration under the title of public utility. This houſe, in carefully attending to their duty as guardians of the national purſe, muſt not for-

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get that they are truſtees for the creditors. We must not aſſume a right to prejudice the public creditors, or to convert the right of redemption which we poſſeſs, into a right of reduction, to which we have no claim. Debts not originally ſubject to reduction, are, in that reſpect, in the ſituation of irredeemables, and the faith of parliament is equally pledged to prevent any reduction without the conſent of the proprietors. If we advert to the time and manner in which theſe debts were created, every argument againſt the reduction of intereſt, acquires a great additional force. At that diſaſtrous period, the creditors of the South Sea and Eaſt India companies had a power to demand the whole amount of their bonds. Their forbearance was eſſentially neceſſary to the defence and well-being of the community; for, had they perſiſted in claiming their principal, the whole muſt have fallen on the landed intereſt, or the reſult muſt have been ſuch as I dare not mention, or hardly think of. And is the ſervice then rendered to the country, to be now repaid by a compulſory reduction of their dividends? I call it compulſory, for any reduction by terror, can only be deſcribed by that name. If they are to be ſo reduced, the pretence is, that it will eaſe the current ſervice, or take off taxes; but that would be only to take the taxes off others, to be impoſed on them, in the moſt cruel and inſupportable manner. It would be equally juſt to take away one fourth from the income of every individual, or to deprive him of one fourth of his

Chapter 47. 1737.

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lands or ſtock in trade; or rather the injuſtice would be leſs in ſuch caſe, becauſe the national creditor is, by expreſs contract, exempt from all public taxes and impoſitions.

" Nor is it true that the intereſt propoſed is equivalent to the value of money; for though money cannot be inveſted in the funds without an advance above three per cent. at par, yet all loans on real ſecurities, on eſtates, or on perſonal ſecurities, bear a much higher intereſt. The preference given to the funds, ariſes from various cauſes; from the facility of receiving intereſt, cheapneſs of transfer; and from none more than the faith placed in the national honour, which is bound to ſuffer no loſs to fall on the public creditor. Stock, while the credit remains untarniſhed, is but another name for ready money bearing intereſt, a property which in no other caſe can attach to ready money; and if the confidence now placed in the guardians of the public honour is diminiſhed, even that advantage will not in future tempt individuals to truſt their money out of their own cuſtody. No diminution of taxes, or other contingent advantage, can compenſate for ſuch a privation; nor is it to be compared to a repayment of the principal at any time, however inconvenient, for it is not to be ſuppoſed that any one would prefer a ſudden and abſolute privation of one fourth of his whole income, to the caſual and diſtant reſumption of 10 or 15 per cent. on his capital, not to be effected without an

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an equivalent payment, which may be delayed by accident, or fruſtrated by neceſſity. Chapter 47. 1737.

"The injuſtice of the preſent plan appears in this, that it is calculated to mark out all the great companies, and to benefit the borrowers at the expence of the lenders. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. A double duty is incumbent on the legiſlature; to uſe their utmoſt exertions towards paying the national debt, and to avoid creating diſtreſſes and diſcontent. Now the whole number of perſons intereſted in the ſtock to be affected by the propoſed meaſure, is about 23,000, of theſe, upwards of 6,000 are intereſted as executors, adminiſtrators, and truſtees, and upwards of 17,000 are poſſeſſed only of ſums not exceeding £. 1,000. The executors and truſtees muſt be greatly embarraſſed, eſpecially if the ſums committed to them are ſmall, in perfecting the purpoſes for which they are confided; and thoſe who poſſeſs ſuch ſmall ſums as do not amount to £. 1,000 muſt be much diſtreſſed by ſo unexpected and wanton a reduction of their income."

The miniſter, in the courſe of theſe obſervations, took an ample review of the bill, which he ſhewed to be unequal to the ends it was deſigned to anſwer. He proved that the alternatives of the propoſition, produced repugnant and diſcordant effects; and that the plan was deſtructive of the purpoſes, and inadequate in benefit to the ſinking fund.

On this head, he ſhould beg leave to take notice of a circumſtance that perſonally alluded to him. Gentlemen had diſcuſſed, in the courſe of

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the debate, *the advantages which had been derived from the* plan of reducing the national debt from ſix to five per cent. which he had the honour of propoſing to the houſe. They had conceived it impoſſible for him to reſiſt a ſimilar reduction from four to three per cent. without the groſſeſt inconſiſtency. But he was free to declare, that he could oppoſe the preſent ſcheme without ſubjecting himſelf to that imputation. It became his duty, on the authority of the former ſcheme, to give his negative to this, becauſe no two ſchemes ever differed more widely in their intention, effect, and conſequences.

He then ſtated the difference between the preſent ſcheme, and that which he had propoſed. "This ſcheme," he obſerved, "is compulſory, mine was optional. On the former occaſion, money was prepared; on this, it was yet to be raiſed. My ſcheme laid the foundation, this reverſes the whole ſyſtem of the ſinking fund. Mine was founded upon converting numbers of years at higher rates, into perpetuities at lower rates. This plan eſtabliſhes terms of years at higher rates, in lieu of perpetuities at lower rates, after an expiration of twenty years of the former terms. This was intended to lock up the ſinking fund for ſeveral years, of which the ſhorteſt term was not leſs than twelve, and the longeſt forty-ſeven. During this time, all reduction of intereſt would be prevented, all abolition of taxes rendered impracticable, and a neceſſity impoſed of laying freſh burthens in caſe of emergency. Whereas mine had a contrary tendency; a million of the debt

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might be annually discharged, or some of the existing taxes might be abolished, or the imposition of fresh taxes prevented, by applying the surpluses of the sinking fund to the current service. Chapter 47. 1737.

"The declared intention of the bill is, to give ease to the subject; and the title specifies *immediate* ease. But its tendency is calculated to violate this very principle, and to falsify the title, for no ease can be given, until the reduction has taken place, and that event is distant, uncertain, and precarious. In fact, the present disadvantages of the scheme proposed by the honourable gentlemen, evidently appear from the affectation with which he expatiated on *his love to posterity*. For certain it is, that his scheme cannot benefit the present generation, but its salutary effects will principally be confined to those who are yet unborn."*

Sir John Barnard said in reply, "I am very much obliged to the honourable gentleman, Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the imputation of having had any private conversation with him, or of having ever had any concert with him, and if he is afraid lest people should suspect his having had a hand in the scheme I proposed to you, I shall be equally just to him, by declaring, I never had any private conversation with him about it, nor did I so much as ask his approbation or consent to what I was to Barnard's reply.

* The substance of this speech is taken from parliamentary minutes in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Walpole. Walpole Papers.

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to offer; but as to the ſcheme as it now ſtands, every gentleman that hears me, knows it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewiſe knows, that the new model, which is the model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the honourable gentleman himſelf, it was at leaſt offered by ſome of his friends; and what they propoſed was agreed to by other gentlemen, in order that we might have their aſſiſtance in carrying it through. Therefore the ſcheme now before you, cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all objections made to the bill, are only to thoſe articles and clauſes of it, which relate to the improvements and additions made to my ſcheme, by the honourable gentleman's friends." * The houſe divided, and the queſtion of committing the bill was negatived, by 249 againſt 134. †

Bill rejected.

Walpole's motives.

It is difficult, without farther documents on this ſubject than I poſſeſs, to aſcertain all the motives

* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 479.

† I have dwelt thus particularly on the conſideration of Sir John Barnard's ſcheme, becauſe the accounts given by moſt writers, who have fallen under my obſervation, are ſuperficial and inaccurate. Even Tindal is unuſually ſhort and barren of information. Tindal, vol. 20. p. 348.

Smollett, excepting a good abſtract of Sir John Barnard's ſpeech, which I have adopted in the text, is extremely deficient. He ſays it produced other debates, and was at laſt *poſtponed* by dint of miniſterial influence. The falſity of this account is evident. Smollett, vol. 2. p. 627.

Belſham obſerves, "A bill was, however, ordered upon the baſis of Winnington's propoſition, which being in the ſequel warmly attacked, and *faintly defended*, was *finally poſtponed to a diſtant day, by a motion of the miniſter*." In this ſhort account there are three errors. It was warmly attacked, *but by no means faintly defended*. It was not *finally poſtponed to a diſtant day*, but the ſecond reading was only put off for ſeven days; and it was then *negatived*, but *not on the motion of the miniſter*. Belſham, vol. 1. p. 389.

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motives which induced the miniſter to reſiſt the reduction. It may be ſufficient, perhaps, to attribute it to a full conviction, that the meaſure was highly and generally unpopular. He had relinquiſhed his favourite exciſe ſcheme, notwithſtanding the certainty of its beneficial tendency, ſolely on that account. It was not to be ſuppoſed that he would promote this ſcheme, of the good tendency of which he was not aſſured, and which in many reſpects was partial and unjuſt. Chapter 47. 1737.

But in addition to this motive, I can ſuggeſt two others, which influenced his diſſent. Firſt, he foreſaw, from the diſputes with Spain, which then began to riſe, that the nation might be involved in a war, and that government could borrow with greater facility at four per cent. than at three. He was ſtill more ſwayed by another motive, which he could not venture to diſcloſe. He had already appropriated part of the ſurplus of the ſinking fund to the current ſervice of the year, and as the meaſure was extremely popular, he had reſolved, in caſe of emergency, to alienate the whole. But his deſign would have been fruſtrated by this bill, which would have locked up the greateſt part of the ſinking fund for ſeveral years, and have rendered it neceſſary to impoſe new taxes for the purpoſe of ſupplying the incidental expences. *

An

* A reduction of intereſt took place in 1749, upon a plan, which has been deſcribed as ſimilar, though it is eſſentially different from the original ſcheme propoſed by Sir John Barnard: It was finally carried, though not without great oppoſition, by the united influence of the miniſter (Pelham) and Sir John Barnard.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Playhouſe bill.

An act of this ſeſſion, which is commonly denominated the playhouſe bill, has expoſed the miniſter to no leſs obloquy, from ſubſequent writers, than his oppoſition to the reduction of intereſt.

Thoſe who thus load him with indiſcriminate cenſure, and impute this act ſolely to his *deſpotic influence*, have not paid due attention to the hiſtory of the Engliſh ſtage, to the power of the lord chamberlain over the players and theatrical repreſentations, and to the opinion of the moſt moderate and beſt informed magiſtrates at the period of paſſing this act, which has been ſo much calumniated, and ſo little underſtood.

It is needleſs to diſcuſs the queſtion concerning the neceſſity of fixing ſome bounds to the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage. The neceſſity muſt be allowed, except by thoſe who think it fitting to ſubject to public mockery, law, government, and religion, and to expoſe magiſtrates, judges, and kings, to the perſonalities of ſatire, buffoonery, and low mimicry. In all well regulated governments, the fact has been univerſally admitted, and wherever it has not been adopted, the moſt fatal conſequences have followed. Even the freeſt democracy which perhaps ever exiſted, that of Athens, after having experienced the effects of unreſtrained licentiouſneſs in their theatrical performances, found it neceſſary to remedy the evil, and to limit the ſtage within the boundaries of common decency and juſtice.

Power of the lord chamberlain.

It appears from the hiſtory of the Engliſh ſtage, that no period ever exiſted when it was not ſubject

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ject to ſuperintendence, when players were not licenced, and when plays were not reviewed and amended, allowed, or rejected. Before the reign of Henry the Eighth, the power of ſuperintending the king's hunting parties, the direction of the comedians, muſicians, and other royal ſervants, appointed either for uſe or recreation, was excluſively veſted in the lord chamberlain. Chapter 47. 1737.

Under him, and ſubject to his controul, was an inferior officer, who exerted himſelf on particular occaſions for the purpoſe of regulating pageants, public feſtivals, and maſquerades. This man was called by the fanciful names of the *Abbot of Miſrule*, or *Lord of Paſtimes*. But in the reign of Henry the Eighth, this temporary office was rendered regular and permanent by letters patent, and called the office of *Maſter of the Revels*. * Maſter of the Revels.

Under Elizabeth, ſome wiſe regulations, with the advice of Walſingham, and co-operation of Burleigh, were made for allowing the uſe, but correcting the abuſe of the ſtage; particularly, when the earl of Leiceſter obtained the firſt general licence for his theatrical ſervants to act ſtage plays in any part of England, a proviſo was added in the patent, enjoining that *all comedies, tragedies, interludes, and ſtage plays, ſhould be examined and allowed by the maſter of the revels*. Thus that authority which was before confined to the paſtimes of the court, was now extended to the theatrical exhibitions of the whole kingdom. Theatrical regulations under Elizabeth.

During

* Officium magiſtri jocorum, *revelorum* et maſcorum.

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During her reign alſo, the privy council exerciſed an authority, legiſlative and executive, over the dramatic world. They opened and ſhut playhouſes; gave and recalled licences; appointed the proper ſeaſons when plays ought to be preſented or with-held; and regulated the conduct of the lord mayor of London, and the vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, with regard to plays and players. The privy council gave Tilney, the maſter of the revels in 1589, two co-adjutors, a ſtateſman and a divine, to aſſiſt him in reforming comedies and tragedies.

Theſe prudent regulations, and the wiſdom with which they were exerciſed, were attended with the moſt beneficial effects. The maſter of the revels, by regulating the ſtage, and reſtraining the number of theatres, gave greater reſpectability to the profeſſion of a player, and the genius of the drama expanded and ſoared to a greater height, although its limits were contracted and its flight circumſcribed.

Had not theſe wiſe regulations taken place, Shakeſpeare might have confined to burleſque farces, and low buffoonery, thoſe vaſt powers of invention and deſcription which his own language can alone adequately delineate.

"The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Glances from heav'n to earth, from earth to heav'n,
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to ſhape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name." *

By

* Midſummer Night's Dream.

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Chapter 47. 1737.

By the wiſe and temperate uſe which the maſter of the revels made of his power, his weight and influence increaſed, and he gradually appropriated to himſelf the greater part of that authority, which had belonged to the lord chamberlain. During the latter part of the reign of James the Firſt and Charles the Firſt, it was held by Sir Henry Herbert, * nearly allied to the earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain: under his prudent management the reputation and conſequence of the office increaſed, and produced the moſt ſalutary effects, until his functions were wholly ſuſpended, by the troubles and confuſion of the civil wars, and the fanaticiſm of the republicans.

On the reſtoration of Charles the Second, the maſter of the revels endeavoured to re-aſſume his former authority, but met with inſuperable oppoſition from the proprietors and managers of the king's and duke's companies, one of whom had obtained a freſh licence to act plays, the other a renewal of a former grant. In vain the maſter of the revels applied to the courts of juſtice for redreſs; in vain he appealed to the ſovereign, or to the lord chamberlain; he was neither ſupported by the one, or countenanced by the other; his authority, though not overthrown, was conſiderably ſhaken, and his regulations were combated and deſpiſed.

During this ſuſpenſion of his power, the particular

* Brother to the eccentric lord Herbert, of Cherbury, and of George Herbert, rector of Bemerton, known by the name of the divine Herbert.

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ticular differences, pretenſions, or complaints, were generally ſettled by the perſonal interference of the king and duke, or referred to the deciſion of the lord chamberlain. In conſequence of this relaxation of authority, and the libertine character of the court, the theatre was diſgraced by the groſſeſt ribaldry and obſcenity, and the beſt authors vied who ſhould produce the moſt licentious comedies. Ladies could not venture to attend a new play without maſks, then daily worn, and admitted into the pit, the ſide boxes, and the gallery.

On the death of Sir Henry Herbert, the maſterſhip of the revels was conferred on Charles Killigrew, manager of the king's company. The union of theſe two functions increaſed the evil, and the ſmalleſt check was not impoſed on the glaring immorality of the ſtage.

At the revolution, the power of the lord chamberlain over the theatre was revived without reſtriction. He opened and ſhut playhouſes, impriſoned and licenſed players, corrected and rejected plays. Under him the maſter of the revels ſeems to have recovered ſome part of his former power, and to have had his ſhare in the revolutions of the theatre. He reviſed and ſanctioned plays, and his aid greatly contributed to the celebrated conqueſt which Jeremy Collier, by the publication of his ſhort view of the ſtage, obtained over the immorality of the drama. In this publication, the moſt profane and obſcene paſſages in ſeveral modern plays, which had been written by Dryden, Vanbrugh,

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brugh, Wycherley, Congreve, and the moſt admired dramatic authors, were detected and expoſed. The truth of his obſervations, which all the wit and talents of the authors who were deſervedly chaſtiſed could not controvert, produced a ſurpriſing effect; a general outcry was raiſed againſt the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and king William ſent the following order to the playhouſes: "His majeſty being informed, that notwithſtanding an order made in June 1697, by the earl of Sunderland, then lord chamberlain of the king's houſhold, to prevent the profaneneſs and immorality of the ſtage, ſeveral plays have lately been acted, containing ſeveral expreſſions contrary to religion and good manners: And whereas the maſter of the revels hath repreſented, that, in contempt of the ſaid order, the actors did neglect to leave out ſuch profane and indecent expreſſions, as he had thought proper to be omitted: therefore, it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhall not hereafter preſume to act any thing in any play, contrary to religion and good manners, as they ſhall anſwer at their utmoſt peril." At the ſame time, the maſter of the revels was commanded not to licence any plays containing irreligious or immoral expreſſions, and to give notice to the lord chamberlain, or in his abſence to the vice-chamberlain, if the players preſumed to act any thing which he had ſtruck out. *

But this reformation did not continue long in its full force. As ſoon as the firſt awe and panic of

* Tindal, vol. 14, p. 478.

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of the actors had ſubſided, the ſtage nearly relapſed into its former immorality, all attempts to reform it became the object of theatrical wit, and were ridiculed in plays, prologues, and epilogues. Although the new plays were uſually more decent and moral, yet the old plays were frequently acted, without being freed from their exceptionable paſſages.

Either in conſequence of theſe proceedings, or of ſome diſputes which aroſe between the actors of the royal theatres, and produced the deſertion of the principal performers from Drury Lane to the Haymarket, the nuiſance of playhouſes, and the conduct of the performers, became ſo flagrant, that a bill, in the twelfth year of queen Anne, included players, who acted without a legal ſettlement in the places where they performed, among vagrants, and ſubjected them to the ſame penalties as rogues and vagabonds. But before the beneficial effects of this act could have time to operate, the death of the queen produced a new revolution in the drama.

Soon after the acceſſion of George the Firſt, the power of the maſter of the revels, which had been conſiderably circumſcribed, was almoſt annihilated; a new patent was injudiciouſly granted to Sir Richard Steel, Colley Cibber, and Booth, for acting plays without ſubjecting them to the licence or reviſion of any officer.

In conſequence of this grant, the maſter of the revels was abridged of his power, and defrauded of his dues, and his emoluments were reduced to a ſmall

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a ſmall ſalary from the exchequer, to lodgings in Somerſet Houſe, and to occaſional fees. Chapter 47. 1737.

At the death of Charles Killigrew, the office, thus mutilated, was conferred on Charles Henry Lee, and the decline of his power was ſufficiently ſhewn by the growing licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and the numerous pieces which offended equally againſt religion, decency, and common ſenſe. 1724.

Although, in all the letters patent for acting plays ſince the time of Charles the Firſt, no mention was made of the lord chamberlain, yet he was ſtill conſidered as poſſeſſing an abſolute, though an undefinable authority over the ſtage, which he had occaſionally exerciſed. The performance of ſeveral theatrical pieces had been prevented, particularly Lucius Junius Brutus, a prologue of Dryden to the Propheteſs, Mary queen of Scotland, and recently Polly, the ſequel to the Beggar's Opera.

But as this exerciſe of his power had been always attended with much unpopularity, it was ſeldom exerted. Numerous theatres were erected in different parts of the metropolis, in which the actors performed without licence or authority. To prevent this, ſeveral attempts were made to enforce the laws then exiſting. An actor, who performed on the theatre of the Haymarket, without licence, was taken from the ſtage, by the warrant of a juſtice of peace, and committed to Bridewell, as coming under the penalty of the vagrant act. The legality of the commitment was diſputed; a trial enſued; it was decided, that

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. the comedian being a houſekeeper, and having a vote for electing members of parliament, did not come within the deſcription of the ſaid act; and he was diſcharged amidſt the loud acclamations of the populace. The iſſue of this trial gave full ſcope to the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and took away all hopes of reſtraining the number of playhouſes.

From this repreſentation of the ſtate of the drama, it is evident, that ſome reformation was indiſpenſably neceſſary. The miniſter himſelf had long ſeen that neceſſity. The obloquy which purſued him was not confined to the preſs; the ſtage was made the vehicle of the moſt malignant ſarcaſms, not expreſſed in the elevated tone of tragedy, or couched in ſentiments and language perceptible only to men of refined underſtandings; but his perſon was brought on the ſtage, his actions maligned, his meaſures miſrepreſented and arraigned, and his conduct made the ſport of the populace, in all the petulance of vulgar farce. He was unwilling, however, to make this a perſonal conſideration, but rather a public and national queſtion, in which the good of the law, conſtitution, religion, and morality, was intimately involved, and ſuch an opportunity ſeemed to preſent itſelf, when Sir John Barnard brought in a bill "to reſtrain the number of houſes for playing of interludes, and for the better regulating of common players of interludes."

March 5, 1735.

Bill for reſtraining the number of playhouſes.

On repreſenting the miſchiefs which theatres had done to the city of London, by corrupting youth,

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youth, encouraging vice and debauchery, and greatly prejudicing trade, the propoſal was at firſt received with contempt and ridicule, until it was ſeconded by Sandys, Pulteney, and warmly ſupported by the miniſter himſelf. It was obſerved by a member, in the courſe of the debate, that there were at that time not leſs than ſix theatres in London. The houſe being fully convinced of the neceſſity of the bill, leave was given to bring it in without a ſingle diſſenting voice. It was accordingly, on the 3d of April preſented, read the firſt time, and ordered to be printed; notwithſtanding petitions againſt it from the proprietor of the theatre in Goodman's Fields, and from the maſter and comptroller of the revels. It was read a ſecond time on the 14th of April. Chapter 47. 1737.

The miniſter conceived this to be a favourable opportunity of checking the daring abuſe of theatrical repreſentation, which had arrived to a moſt extravagant height. It was propoſed to inſert a clauſe, to ratify and confirm, if not enlarge the power of the lord chamberlain, in licenſing plays, and at the ſame time inſinuated to the houſe, that unleſs this addition was made, the king would not paſs it. But Sir John Barnard ſtrongly objected to this clauſe. He declared that the power of the lord chamberlain was already too great, and had been often wantonly exerciſed, particularly in the prohibition of Polly. He ſhould therefore withdraw this bill, and wait for another opportunity of introducing it, rather than

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. establish by law a power in a single officer so much under the direction of the crown, a power which might be exercised in an arbitrary manner, and consequently attended with mischievous effects.

Licentiousness of the stage.

The attempt of Sir John Barnard having thus failed, the immorality of the drama increased, and the most indecent, seditious, and blasphemous pieces were performed, and resorted to with incredible eagerness. Among those who principally supported this low ribaldry was the celebrated Henry Fielding, who, though he never shone in the higher line of perfect comedy, wrote these dramatic satires in a style agreeable to the populace. One of his pieces, called Pasquin, which was acted in the theatre at the Haymarket, ridiculed, in the grossest terms, the three professions of divinity, law, and physic, and gave general offence to persons of morality. "Religion, laws, government, priest, judges, and ministers," observes Colley Cibber, "were laid flat at the feet of the Herculean satirist, this Drawcansir in wit, who spared neither friend nor foe, who to make his poetical fame immortal, like another Erostratus, set fire to his stage, by writing up to an act of parliament to demolish it."

This piece was peculiarly offensive to the minister, because it contained many personal allusions and invectives. But as he was not willing to employ the power of government in a mere temporary prohibition of this and other performances, which would have been extremely unpo-

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pular, and not attended with permanent effects, he wiſhed to avail himſelf of the preſent flagrant abuſe, to prevent future repreſentations ſo diſgraceful and indecorous. Chapter 47. 1737.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, an opportunity offered, which he did not omit to ſeize. Giffard, the manager of Goodman's Fields theatre, brought to him a farce, called the Golden Rump, which had been propoſed for exhibition; but it is uncertain whether the intentions of the manager were to requeſt his advice on this occaſion, or to extort a ſum of money to prevent its repreſentation.

The miniſter, however, paid the profits which might have accrued from the performance, and detained the copy. He then made extracts of the moſt exceptionable paſſages, abounding in profaneneſs, ſedition, and blaſphemy, and ſubmitted them to ſeveral members of both parties, who were ſhocked at the extreme licentiouſneſs of the piece, and promiſed their ſupport to remedy the evil. With their advice, concurrence, and promiſe of co-operation, he read the ſeveral extracts to the houſe, and a general conviction prevailed, of the neceſſity of putting a check to the repreſentation of ſuch horrid effuſions of treaſon and blaſphemy. He acted, however, with his uſual prudence on this occaſion. He did not bring forward, as is generally ſuppoſed, an act for ſubjecting all plays to the licence of the lord chamberlain, and reſtraining the number of play-

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houſes, but contrived to introduce it by amending the vagrant act.

Bill for licenſing plays.

The bill was called, "A bill to explain and amend ſo much of an act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of queen Anne, intituled, an act for reducing the laws relating to rogues, vagabonds, ſturdy beggars, and vagrants, and ſending them whither they ought to be ſent, as relates to the common players of interludes." * Leave was accordingly given to bring it in, and Pelham, Dodington, Howe, the maſter of the rolls, the attorney and ſolicitor general, were ordered to prepare it. During its rapid progreſs through the houſe, certain amendments were made, and two clauſes were added. The firſt, which occaſioned ſo much obloquy, empowered the lord chamberlain to prohibit the repreſentation of any theatrical performances, and compelled all perſons to ſend copies of any new plays, parts added to old plays, prologues and epilogues, fourteen days before they were acted, and not to perform them, under forfeiture of £. 50, and of the licence of the houſe. The ſecond, which is ſaid to have been added at the inſtigation of Sir John Barnard, operated in reſtraining the number of playhouſes, by enjoining, that no perſon ſhould be authoriſed to act except within the liberties of the city of Weſtminſter, and where the king ſhould reſide. †

May 20, 1737.

The

* Journals.

† 1. Every perſon who ſhall for hire, gain, or reward, act, repreſent, or perform, or cauſe to be acted, repreſented, or performed, any interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, or other entertainment of the ſtage, or any part or parts therein, in caſe ſuch perſon

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The bill is generally ſaid to have been warmly oppoſed in both houſes; but it is remarkable that no trace (excepting the ſpeech of lord Cheſterfield) of this oppoſition is to be found in the periodical publications of the times, which are filled with accounts of the other debates. It is alſo certain, that not a ſingle petition * was preſented againſt it,

ſon ſhall not have any legal ſettlement in the place where the ſame ſhall be acted, repreſented, or performed, without authority, by virtue of letters patent from his majeſty, his heirs, ſucceſſors, or predeceſſors, or without licence from the lord chamberlain of his majeſty's houſehold for the time being, ſhall be deemed a rogue and a vagabond, within the intent and meaning of the ſaid recited act, and ſhall be liable and ſubject to all ſuch penalties and puniſhments, and by ſuch methods of conviction, as are inflicted on, or appointed by the ſaid act for the puniſhment of rogues and vagabonds who ſhall be found wandering, &c.

2. Any perſon having or not having any legal ſettlement, who ſhall without ſuch authority or licence, act, &c. for hire, &c. any interlude, &c. every ſuch perſon ſhall, for every ſuch offence, forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds, &c.

3. No perſon ſhall for hire, &c. act, &c. &c. any new interlude, &c. or any part or parts therein, or any new act, ſcene, or other part added to any old interlude, &c. or any new prologue or epilogue, unleſs a true copy thereof be ſent to the lord chamberlain of the king's houſehold, &c. fourteen days at leaſt before the acting, &c. together with an account of the playhouſe or other place where the ſame ſhall be, &c. the time wherein the ſame ſhall be firſt acted, &c. ſigned by the maſter or manager, or one, &c. of ſuch playhouſe, &c.

It ſhall be lawful for the ſaid lord chamberlain, as often as he ſhall think fit, to prohibit the acting, &c. any interlude, &c. or any act, &c. &c. &c. thereof, or any prologue or epilogue; and in caſe any ſuch perſons ſhall for hire, &c. act any, &c. &c. before a copy ſhall be ſent as aforeſaid, or ſhall for hire, &c. &c. contrary to ſuch prohibition, every perſon ſo offending ſhall, for every ſuch offence, forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds, and every grant, &c. (in caſe there be any ſuch) under which the ſaid maſter, &c. ſet up or continued ſuch playhouſe, &c. ſhall ceaſe.

4. That no perſon or perſons ſhall be authorized by virtue of, &c. from his majeſty, &c. or the lord chamberlain, to act, &c. any interlude, &c. in any part of Great Britain, except in the city of Weſtminſter, and within the liberties thereof, and in ſuch places where his majeſty, &c. ſhall reſide, and during ſuch reſidence only.

* * * * * * * * *

5. If any interlude, &c. ſhall be acted, &c. in any houſe or place, where wine or other liquors ſhall be ſold, the ſame ſhall be deemed to be acted, &c. for gain, &c. Statutes at large, 17 G. 2. c. 28.

* Sir John Hawkins, in his Life of Johnſon, aſſerts, that the ma-

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. it, and not a ſingle diviſion appears in the journals of either houſe. Striking proofs, if any were ſtill wanting, to ſhew the general opinion in favour of its neceſſity.

The diſpatch with which it was carried through both houſes, affords additional evidence that it ſcarcely met with any reſiſtance. The bill was ordered to be brought in on the 20th of May, read the 24th, a ſecond time on the 25th, and committed to the whole houſe; ordered to be reported, with amendments, on the 26th, reported on the 27th, all amendments but one agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engroſſed; paſſed on the firſt of June, and Mr. Pelham ordered to carry it to the lords. It was read the firſt time on the ſame day, the ſecond time on the 2d, after a debate, carried in the affirmative; the third time on the 6th, returned to the commons on the 8th, without any amendments, and received the royal aſſent on the 21ſt.

It is moſt probable that lord Cheſterfield alone ſpoke againſt the bill, and that his ſpeech ſo deſervedly admired, has been repeated by ſubſequent writers who copy each other, until a violent oppoſition to the meaſure has been ſuppoſed, which never exiſted.

Cheſterfield did not confine his exertions to the houſe, but wrote againſt the new act, in a paper called Common Senſe; his arguments have little to recommend them, at a time when the propriety

nager of Goodman's Fields preſented a petition againſt it, and was heard by counſel, but this petition was preſented againſt Sir John Barnard's bill in 1735.

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propriety and utility of the meaſure againſt which they were directed, is generally conceded. The fatal evils which were predicted as the certain conſequences of this bill, perpetual ſlavery and the introduction of abſolute authority, have not followed; the good effects which were expected from it, have been confirmed by never failing experience. While it ſuppreſſed the licentiouſneſs, it has not deſtroyed the ſpirit of the drama; wit has not appeared leſs lovely and attracting, in promoting virtue and curbing vice with decency, than in recommending treaſon and obſcenity; nor are the ſhafts of ridicule rendered uſeleſs, becauſe, while they have preſerved the power to do good, they are diveſted of the power to do miſchief. "The facts, which have been detailed, evince, with ſufficient conviction, that this act of parliament merely reſtored to the lord chamberlain, the ancient authority which he poſſeſſed before the appointment of the maſter of the revels; armed him with legal power, in the place of cuſtomary privilege; and enabled him to execute, by warrantable means, the uſeful, but invidious truſt, which experience had long required, and policy at length conferred." *

Chapter 47. 1737.

* Journals of the Lords and Commons. Chandler, for 1735. Lords' Debates, 1737. Colley Cibber's Apology. Jeremy Collier's View of the Immorality and Profaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage. Tindal, vol. 20, p. 359. Oldmixon, vol. 3. p. 192. Introduction to Biographia Dramatica. Gentleman's and London Magazine, 1737. Maty's Life of Cheſterfield. Hawkin's Life of Johnſon, p. 75. Smollett, vol. 3. p. 525. Burn's Juſtice, article Players. Chalmer's Apology for the Believers of the Shakeſpeare MSS. p. 471 to 543; to whoſe elaborate reſearches on this ſubject I have been principally indebted,

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CHAPTER THE FORTY-EIGHTH:

1737.

Origin and Progreſs of the Miſunderſtanding between the King and Prince of Wales.—Application to Parliament.—Conduct of Walpole—of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke—of Oppoſition.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

THIS year was marked by two domeſtic events, which proved highly prejudicial to the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, and greatly contributed to haſten the cloſe of his adminiſtration; the public oppoſition of the prince of Wales, and the death of queen Caroline.

Frederick Louis, prince of Wales, was born in 1707, and continued at Hanover until he had attained the twenty-firſt year of his age.

Cauſes of the miſunderſtanding.

George the Second had found, from his own experience, the embarraſſments to which government might be expoſed from the oppoſition of the heir apparent, and dreaded the arrival of a ſon who might irritate the ſtate of parties, and increaſe the ferment ariſing in the kingdom againſt the meaſures of the cabinet. He from time to time deferred his removal from Hanover, and did not ſend for him to England, until a concurrence of circumſtances rendered it impolitic to permit his longer reſidence on the continent.

Clamours were juſtly raiſed in England, that the heir apparent had received a foreign education, and was detained abroad, as if to keep alive an attachment to Hanover, in preference to Great Britain,

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Britain. The miniſters at length ventured to remonſtrate with the king on the ſubject, and the privy council formally repreſented the propriety of his reſidence in England. The king, however, ſtill heſitated, when an event occurred, which decided his choice, and induced him to accelerate the prince's departure from Germany. Chapter 48. 1737.

A long negotiation had taken place between the houſes of Brunſwick and Brandenburgh, for a double marriage between the prince of Wales and the princeſs royal of Pruſſia, and the prince royal of Pruſſia and the princeſs Amelia. This negotiation had commenced in the reign of George the Firſt, and was eagerly promoted by his daughter Sophia Dorothy, who had eſpouſed Frederick William, king of Pruſſia. Both parties ſeemed to have deſired this union with equal anxiety; but the capricious and brutal temper of Frederick William, and his ſudden receſſion from the treaty of Hanover, had ſo highly offended George the Firſt, that he ceaſed to favour the propoſed intermarriages. Still farther obſtacles were thrown in their way at the acceſſion of George the Second. The two kings, from their early years, had formed a violent antipathy to each other. The ſyſtem of politics adopted by England increaſed this miſunderſtanding. Frederick William had been lured by the Emperor to join the allies of Vienna, in oppoſition to thoſe of Hanover, and his recruiting officers frequently made illegal inrolments on the Hanoverian territories.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

In vain the queen of Pruſſia endeavoured to reconcile her huſband and brother, and to promote the concluſion of the family union, which ſhe ſo earneſtly deſired. The antipathy of the two monarchs increaſed inſtead of abating; and the king of Pruſſia was endeavouring to arrange another alliance for his ſon and daughter, which both they and his queen highly deprecated.

During the progreſs of this affair, the prince had formed an attachment to the princeſs of Pruſſia, and by the ſecret information of his aunt, the queen of Pruſſia, was apprized that her daughter felt an equal affection for him.

The prince was now twenty-one; his paſſion was inflamed by oppoſition, and being filled with apprehenſions of loſing the object of his affection, he adopted an expedient which proved the ardour of his attachment. He ſent La Mothe, a Hanoverian officer, to Berlin, who obtained a private audience of the queen, in which he told her that he was commanded by the prince to declare his reſolution of repairing incognito to Berlin, and ſecretly eſpouſing her daughter, if their Pruſſian majeſties would ſanction this ſtep with their approbation. At the ſame time he entreated the queen that it ſhould be communicated to no one but the king. The queen received the meſſage with a tranſport of joy, approved the deſign, and promiſed to keep the ſecret inviolable. The next morning, however, ſhe diſcloſed it to Dubourgeay, the Engliſh envoy, obſerving, that ſhe believed

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believed him to be so much her friend as to partake of her satisfaction. Dubourgeay expressed his concern that so important a secret should be confided to him, and declared it his duty to send immediate information to the king of England. The queen, conscious of the error which she had unwarily committed, conjured him not to betray her confidence, but he persisted in his resolution; and a messenger was immediately dispatched. * The queen was greatly embarrassed at this unexpected incident, but trusted that the affair might be concluded before the return of the messenger from England, and so sanguine were their hopes of success, that the king of Prussia came from his hunting seat to Berlin, expecting the daily arrival of the intended bridegroom. Chapter 48. 1737.

But while they were indulging these hopes, information was received that the prince had been sent for to England. George the Second, on the intelligence from Dubourgeay, dispatched colonel Launay, to Hanover for that purpose. The prince received these commands with respect, and instantly obeyed them. At the conclusion of a ball, he set out from Hanover, accompanied only by Launay and a single domestic, traversed Germany and Holland as a private gentleman, embarked at Helvetsluis, and arrived at St. James, where he was coldly received by his father. The prince's arrival.

For some time after his arrival in England, the novelty of his situation, his little acquaintance with Courted by opposition.

* Polnitz, Histoire des quatre derniers Souverains de la Maison de Brandebourg Royale de Prusse, tom. 2. p. 182-184.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. with the language, his total ignorance of the conſtitution and manners of the country, and the dread which he ſeems to have entertained of his father's indignation, kept him in due ſubmiſſion, and prevented him from openly teſtifying his diſſatisfaction. But as he increaſed in years, and became conſcious of his dignified ſtation, the eſtrangement of his father, and the reſtraint in which he was kept, naturally diſguſted a young prince of high ſpirit, and increaſing popularity, and the reſentment which he had conceived againſt his parents, excited an antipathy to the miniſter, in whom they had placed implicit confidence. As he had a taſte for the arts, and a fondneſs for literary purſuits, he ſought the ſociety of perſons who were moſt conſpicuous for their talents and knowledge. He was thrown into the company of Carteret, Cheſterfield, Pulteney, Cobham, and Sir William Wyndham, who were conſidered as the leading characters for wit, talents, and urbanity.

His houſe became the rendezvous of young men of the higheſt expectations, Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, whom he afterwards took into his houſehold, and made his aſſociates. The uſual topic of converſation in ſelect ſociety, was abuſe of the miniſter, and condemnation of his meaſures, urged with all the keeneſs of wit, and powers of eloquence. The prince found the men whoſe reputation was moſt eminent in literature, particularly Swift, Pope, and Thomſon, adverſe

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to Walpole, who was the object of their private and public satire. Chapter 48. 1737.

But the person who principally contributed to increase his resentment against the king, and to foment his aversion to the minister, was Bolingbroke, who was characterised by the first poets of the age, as the "all accomplished St. John, the muse's friend." The prince was fascinated with his conversation and manners. His confident assertions, and popular declamations, his affected zeal to reconcile all ranks and descriptions, the energy with which he decried the baneful spirit of party, and his plausible theories of a perfect government, without influence or corruption, acting by prerogative, were calculated to dazzle and captivate a young prince of high spirit and sanguine disposition, and induce him to believe that the minister was forming a systematic plan to overthrow the constitution, and that the cause of opposition was that of honour and liberty.

His peremptory demand.

So early as 1734, the misunderstanding between the father and son had increased to a very alarming degree, and the prince, encouraged by opposition, took a very injudicious step, which was calculated to provoke the king, and occasion an immediate and open rupture. He repaired to the anti-chamber, and without any previous arrangement, requested an immediate audience. The king delayed admitting him till he had sent for Sir Robert Walpole, on whose arrival, he expressed his indignation against his son, and would have proceeded to instant extremities, had not the minister

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niſter contrived to calm his reſentment. He ſtrongly inculcated moderation, and perſuaded the king to hear with complacency what the prince wiſhed to communicate.

On being admitted, the prince made three requeſts, in a tone and manner which indicated a ſpirit of perſeverance. The firſt was, to ſerve a campaign on the Rhine in the Imperial army; the ſecond related to the augmentation of his revenue, at the ſame time inſinuating, that he was in debt; the third was, his ſettlement by a ſuitable marriage. To the firſt and third points, the king made no anſwer; in regard to the ſecond, he ſhewed an inclination to comply, if the prince would behave with due reſpect to the queen.

The king had ſuppreſſed his anger on theſe demands of his ſon; but his reſentment broke out with redoubled violence, when rumours were circulated, that the prince would apply to parliament for an augmentation of his revenue. The queen exerted all her efforts to ſoften the king's indignation, and the miniſter uſed every argument which policy ſuggeſted to incline him to moderation, and to induce him not to drive the prince wholly into the arms of oppoſition. Theſe exertions had a temporary effect. * The rupture was ſuſpended, and the hopes of oppoſition were diſappointed.

Marries the princeſs of Saxe Gotha.

The paſſion which the prince had entertained for the princeſs Frederica, being thwarted by his parents, preyed upon his mind and increaſed his diſguſt,

* Lettre de Monſ. de Loſs à Monſ. de Bruhl, ſans datte; de Monſ. John à Monſ. Von Hagen, 16 de Juillet 1734. Correſpondence.

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diſguſt, and when the propoſal of another union was imparted to him, he remonſtrated with great marks of offended ſenſibility, and expreſſed his repugnance to eſpouſe a princeſs whom he had not ſeen, inſtead of one whom he had ſeen and approved. When the arrangement was made for his marriage with Auguſta, princeſs of Saxe Gotha, the prince of Wales ſent for baron Borck, the Pruſſian miniſter, and complained, with much indignation, that the king his father compelled him to renounce all hopes of eſpouſing a Pruſſian princeſs. He requeſted him to lay his grief before the king his maſter, and to aſſure him that he was determined to have reſiſted all compulſion, and was only induced to agree to the alliance with the princeſs of Saxe Gotha, on being informed by his mother, that the king of Pruſſia had refuſed to give him his daughter in marriage. He expreſſed his heartfelt regret that he was not permitted to have the honour of forming an union with a family which he loved more than his own, and to which, from his earlieſt infancy, all his deſires had been directed; he hoped, nevertheleſs, that the king would not withdraw his favour and friendſhip. He teſtified his concern, that he was to be connected with a houſe from which he could not expect that ſupport, which he ſhould have found in the king of Pruſſia, and lamented his hard fate in being condemned to remain under the ſevere controul of the queen his mother. He concluded by obſerving, that he muſt ſubmit to his deſtiny, that he could not ſee, without

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grief, the king of England diſdaining the friendſhip of a great monarch, without which the ruin of his houſe muſt infallibly enſue.* The letter, in which Borck gave an account of this indiſcreet conference to his maſter, fell into the hands of the king, and greatly irritated his inflammable temper.

On the 27th of April 1736, the prince of Wales eſpouſed the princeſs of Saxe Gotha, in whoſe beauty, accompliſhments, and virtues, he forgot his former paſſion. But the marriage did not remove the unfortunate miſunderſtanding between the father and ſon, it rather had a contrary tendency. The increaſed expences of the prince's houſehold, without an adequate increaſe of income, rendered his ſituation ſtill more irkſome. His revenue, although enlarged from £. 36,000 to £. 50,000, with the emoluments of the duchy of Cornwall, did not amount to £. 60,000, a ſum the prince and his friends deemed inſufficient to ſupport the dignity of his ſtation. It became matter of public animadverſion, that out of a civil liſt of £. 800,000, he received only £. 50,000 a year, although the king, when prince of Wales, received £. 100,000 out of a civil liſt of only £. 700,000. But while this was induſtriouſly circulated, it was not conſidered, that George the Second, when prince of Wales, had a large family, and that he had ſeveral younger children, for whom he was to make a proviſion out of the civil

* Letter from Borck to the king of Pruſſia, December 23, 1735. Orford Papers.

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civil liſt, which was not the caſe of George the First. Chapter 48. 1737.

The marriage of the heir apparent greatly increaſed his popularity. The affability of his manners, the courteſy of his deportment, were contraſted with the phlegmatic reſerve of George the Second. His protection of letters, his fondneſs for the polite arts, and his riſing merits, became the favourite theme of popular applauſe, and of parliamentary declamation among the members of oppoſition.

It is remarkable, that the addreſs of congratulation to the king, on the nuptials of the prince of Wales with the princeſs of Saxe Gotha was moved by Pulteney, and that the principal ſpeakers in the prince's praiſe, were thoſe who uniformly oppoſed the meaſures of government. It was on this memorable occaſion, that William Pitt made his maiden ſpeech, in a ſtrain of declamation, which a contemporary hiſtorian deſcribes as not inferior to the great models of antiquity, "it being more ornamented than Demoſthenes, and leſs diffuſe than Cicero." * Both he and his friend Lyttleton, who alſo firſt ſpoke on the ſame occaſion, deſcribed the prince as a moſt dutiful ſon; deſcanted on his filial obedience and reſpectful ſubmiſſion to the will of his royal parents, and expatiated, with oſtentatious energy, on his generous love of liberty, and juſt reverence for the Britiſh conſtitution. In affecting to praiſe the king, April 19.

* Tindal.

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king, for having gratified the impatient wiſhes of a loyal people, they gave the prior merit to the prince, for having requeſted a marriage ſo neceſſary to the public good, and aſcribed only a ſecondary merit to the king for granting this requeſt.

The manner in which this debate * was conducted, the warm panegyric beſtowed on the prince, the cold praiſes given to the king, and the acrimonious cenſures of the miniſter, gave great offence, and tended ſtill farther to widen the breach.

Joins oppoſition.

At length the miſunderſtanding aroſe to ſo great a height, that the prince threw himſelf into the arms of oppoſition. Bolingbroke, who had long adviſed the moſt violent meaſures, now laid down a ſyſtematic plan of proceeding to be followed by the prince, the firſt ſtep of which was an emancipation from all dependence on the crown, by the acquiſition of a permanent allowance of £. 100,000 per annum, which the king ſhould be compelled to grant, at the remonſtrance, and under the guaranty of parliament.

Requires an increaſed allowance.

From the time that this ſcheme was firſt ſuggeſted by Bolingbroke, and which had been unadviſedly inſinuated to the king, in 1734, before it was maturely weighed, the prince ſeems to have perſiſted in his reſolution of appealing to parliament. Soon after his marriage, he mentioned his intention to the queen. The queen, perceiving that any advice would be ineffectual, affected to conſider it as an idle and chimerical ſcheme; ſhe

* Chandler, vol. 9, p. 222.

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she treated it as a jest, and declared that there was not the least prospect of success. But her remonstrance had no effect. Urged on by Bolingbroke, whose last advice, before his retreat into France, was to pursue unremittingly this one favourite object, the prince at length determined to lay his case before parliament. He accordingly applied to the most respectable members of opposition, without any previous intimation, not with a view of asking advice, but of demanding support. Pulteney, though surprised at the unexpected request, declared a hearty inclination on his own part to promote the measure, but added, that he must consult his friends. Finding, however, the prince determined to persevere, he engaged for the unanimous consent of his particular friends, and offered to make the motion himself. Sir John Barnard promised his support, and Sir William Wyndham answered for the Tories; observing, that they had long desired an opportunity of shewing their regard and attachment to the prince. He also declared, that all his party were anxious to prove by their zeal, the falsity of the reproaches cast against them, that they were Jacobites, and to shew that they were misrepresented under that name. Chapter 48. 1737.

Dodington, afterwards lord Melcombe, was the first person connected with government, to whom the prince imparted his design, and to him it was declared only on the 7th of February. Dodington gave a strking proof of firmness and integrity, by declining to support a scheme preg-

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nant with so many evils, and made strong and sensible remonstrances to induce the prince not to press any farther a measure which must render all who voted desperate either with the possessor of, or successor to the crown; but all his efforts were ineffectual. *

No information was conveyed to the king, and the minister did not receive the least intimation of the business, or even suspect it, until the 13th of February. He was never before engaged in any transaction which gave him more concern or greater embarrassment. He was aware that £. 50,000 a year was inadequate to the dignified station of the heir apparent, and yet convined that the king, incensed as he was against his son, could not be persuaded to increase that allowance. He was not however intimidated by a dread of offending the heir apparent, who might one day become his master, and did not shrink from his duty to his sovereign and to his country; but resolved to support the king in his just prerogative, and to oppose a measure which he considered as no less unconstitutional than disrespectful. He lamented, however, that the king had imprudently delayed to make the prince a permanent allowance of £. 50,000 a year, in the same manner as George the First had granted his allowance when prince of Wales, and that he had not settled a jointure on the princess. Walpole was not ignorant that the prince derived from these circumstances just cause of complaint, and that until that was removed,

* Dedington's Diary.

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moved, the oppoſition would have great advantage in the argument. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, he uſed all his efforts to obtain a conceſſion of theſe points, and finally conquered the repugnance of the king.

Proceedings in the cabinet.

Feb. 19.

But the ungracious manner in which this was offered, widened rather than repaired the breach. The miniſter ſummoned a meeting at his own houſe, at which were preſent, the dukes of Newcaſtle, Grafton, and Devonſhire, the earl of Scarborough, Horace Walpole, and lord Hardwicke, recently nominated lord chancellor, on the death of lord Talbot. * Walpole informed them, that he had, though not without the greateſt difficulty, prevailed on the king to render the prince's allowance independent, and to ſettle the princeſs's jointure, and that his majeſty had been pleaſed to give him authority to announce to the houſe of commons, when the motion was made, his conſent to both theſe points. The chancellor objected, that if this declaration ſhould be firſt made in the houſe of commons, without properly acquainting the prince, or his treaſurer, it would have the appearance of an intended ſurpriſe. He added, that the friends of the royal family might think themſelves ill uſed, if they were reduced to ſo great a difficulty as that of voting in a diſpute between the king and the prince, when perhaps

* Lord Hardwicke has left a circumſtantial narrative of this important tranſaction, from which I have ſelected the moſt intereſting particulars. Hardwicke Papers.

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haps such previous information as he recommended might have prevented the motion.

To this sensible representation, the minister, replied, that it was in vain to imagine the king could be reduced to so low an act of submission, as to permit any private communication of this kind, after the steps the prince had already taken. The suggestion, however, of the chancellor made a due impression, and Walpole persuaded the king to send a message to the prince, by some of the lords of the cabinet council.

Feb. 21. The king's message.

Accordingly, on the day in which lord Hardwicke received the great seal, while he was waiting in the antichamber with the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Wilmington, and other lords of the council, Sir Robert Walpole came out of the king's chamber in a great hurry, holding a paper in his hand. Calling all the lords of the cabinet to the upper end of the room, he read to them the draught of a message, in his own hand writing, and acquainted them, that it was the king's pleasure, it should be immediately carried to the prince by the lord chancellor, lord president, lord steward, and lord chamberlain.

The draught was not fairly transcribed, and several of the lords complained, that the whole business was transacted with such precipitation, that sufficient leisure was not allowed to consider the terms of the message. The time pressed extremely, and the place was highly improper for such momentous consultation. For the company which assembled to attend the levee filled the room, and could not

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not avoid hearing many of the things which paſſed in the courſe of converſation. The chancellor, however, ventured to object to the expreſſions, "*the undutiful meaſures which his majeſty is informed your royal highneſs intends to purſue*;" but it was replied by the miniſter, that the king inſiſted on the word *undutiful*, and that it was with great difficulty he was induced not to add ſeverer epithets. The chancellor, however, perſiſting in his objection, the word *intends*, was changed for *hath been adviſed to purſue*.

The chancellor took Walpole aſide, and expoſtulated with him on the hardſhip of making ſuch a diſagreeable errand the firſt act of his office. The miniſter anſwered, that he had hinted this to the king, *as far as he durſt venture in ſo nice a caſe*, but the king prevented all farther diſcuſſion, by exclaiming, *my chancellor ſhall go*.

The expoſtulations of the chancellor, however, produced a variation in point of form; inſtead of only four officers of the crown, the whole cabinet council was ordered to attend with the meſſage. It then growing late, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them that buſineſs of conſequence was expected in the houſe of commons, that he and Sir Charles Wager muſt attend, and they both went away, leaving the foul draught of the meſſage. Lord Ilay, under a pretence of attending the houſe of lords, alſo retired.

When the ceremony of giving the great ſeal was over, the remaining * lords of the cabinet deliberated

* The Lord chancellor, the earl of Wilmington, the dukes of Dorſet and Grafton, the duke of Richmond, maſter of the horſe, the duke

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berated in the council chamber on the mode of executing their charge. The meſſage was not yet copied, and a rumour was circulated, that the prince was going to the houſe of commons; the lord ſteward and the lord chamberlain were deputed to inform him, that the lords of the cabinet were ordered to attend with a meſſage from the king, and requeſted to know where he would receive it. He anſwered, in his own apartment. As ſoon as the fair copy was compared with the draught, the lords went to the prince, and being ſhewn into the levee room, the chancellor kiſſed his hand, on being appointed to his high office, and received his congratulations. The door being then cloſed, he read the meſſage over audibly and diſtinctly, as follows:

"His majeſty has commanded us to acquaint your royal highneſs, in his name, that upon your royal highneſs's marriage, he immediately took into his royal conſideration the ſettling a proper jointure upon the princeſs of Wales; but his ſudden going abroad, and his late indiſpoſition ſince his return, had hitherto delayed the execution of theſe his gracious intentions; from which ſhort delay his majeſty did not apprehend any inconveniences could ariſe, eſpecially ſince no application had, in any manner, been made to him upon this ſubject by your royal highneſs: and that his majeſty hath now given orders for ſettling a jointure upon the princeſs of Wales, as far as he is enabled by law,

duke of Argyle, commander in chief, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Pembroke, groom of the ſtole, the earl of Scarborough, and lord Harrington.

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law, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he will, in proper time, lay before his parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the benefit of her royal highness. Chapter 48. 1737.

"The king has further commanded us to acquaint your royal highness, that although your royal highness has not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire, that your allowance of £. 50,000 per annum, which is now paid by monthly payments, at the choice of your royal highness, preferably to quarterly payments, might, by his majesty's further grace and favour, be rendered less precarious, his majesty, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehends may follow, from the undutiful measures, which his majesty is informed, your royal highness has been advised to pursue, will grant to your royal highness for his majesty's life, the said £. 50,000 per annum, to be issuing out of his majesty's civil list revenues, over and above your royal highness's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thinks a very competent allowance, considering his numerous issue, and the great expences which do, and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for his whole royal family."

The chancellor having concluded, there was a short pause, and a profound silence ensued. The prince looking about him, said, my lords, "Am I to return an immediate answer?" to which the chancellor replying, "if your royal highness pleases," the

The prince's answer.

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the prince then delivered a verbal meſſage to the following import:

"He deſired the lords to lay him, with all humility, at his majeſty's feet; and to aſſure his majeſty that he had, and ever ſhould retain, the utmoſt duty for his royal perſon; that he was very thankful for any inſtance of his majeſty's goodneſs to him, or the princeſs, and for his majeſty's gracious intention for ſettling a jointure upon her royal highneſs; but that, as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no anſwer to it." After which, he uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards the king, and then added, *Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, I am ſorry for it*, or to that effect. He concluded, with earneſtly deſiring the lords to repreſent his anſwer to his majeſty in the moſt reſpectful and dutiful manner." *

When this anſwer was reported to the king in the evening, by the lords, he looked diſpleaſed, but made no reply.

Situation of the miniſter.

The ſituation of the miniſter was rendered more embarraſſing at this particular period, from the ill health of the king, who was at that time ſo indiſpoſed as to give real apprehenſion, that he could not long ſurvive. Hence Bolingbroke, in a letter † to Sir William Wyndham, expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at Walpole's imprudence, in offending the heir apparent, who was likely to become his maſter,

* Chandler, vol. 9, p. 301, 303.

† Correſpondence, Feb. 3, 1738. Period VII.

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ter, and the ducheſs of Marlborough thought his conduct no leſs incomprehenſible.* This circumſtance had given to oppoſition a great acceſſion of ſtrength, but had no effect on the conduct of Walpole. Chapter 48. 1737.

On the 22d Pulteney made his motion for an addreſs, requeſting the king to ſettle £. 100,000 a year on the prince of Wales, and the ſame jointure on the princeſs as the queen had when ſhe was princeſs of Wales, aſſuring the king, that the houſe would enable him effectually to fulfil the ſame. Motion in the houſe of commons.

The great points which Pulteney, and thoſe who ſupported the motion, laboured to prove, were, that the prince had a claim to the propoſed alowance, founded on equity and good policy, and a legal right, founded on law and precedent, and that the revenue of the civil liſt had been granted to George the Firſt, and afterwards augmented under George the Second, on the expreſs, or at leaſt implied, condition, that, out of that revenue, the ſum of £. 100,000 ſhould be reſerved for the prince of Wales, as a permanent and independent eſtabliſhment, which the king had it not in his power to withhold. Pulteney ſupported the principles on which the motion was founded with great ability, and with a long ſeries of hiſtorical references to heirs apparent and preſumptive

* [Feb. 6, 1736.] Heard this day, from a pretty good hand, that his majeſty has been worſe than they cared to own, but upon remedies they applied, his fever leſſened, and was better. However, the phyſicians ſay, that if he does get over this illneſs, he cannot live a twelvemonth. Opinions of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 36.

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ſumptive to the crown, who, he maintained, had received an independent and permanent allowance. He concluded by anticipating ſeveral cogent objections to the propoſed addreſs, ariſing from the impropriety and indecency of interpoſing between the king and the prince, between the father and the ſon, and of interfering with the prerogative of the crown.

The miniſter in reply, began by obſerving, that he never roſe to ſpeak upon any ſubject with a deeper concern, and a greater reluctancy, than he did on the preſent important affair. He expreſſed the concern and embarraſſment under which moſt members of that houſe muſt lie, in giving their votes or opinion; if they declared in favour of the motion, they muſt ſeem to injure the royal father, their ſovereign, or by declining the motion, ſeem to injure the royal ſon, and apparent heir to the crown. But he would declare his ſentiments with freedom, becauſe from his *perſonal* knowledge of the two great characters, he was ſatisfied that neither of them would think himſelf injured, becauſe any gentleman gave his opinion or vote freely in parliament; and he was convinced that the prince of Wales had ſo much wiſdom, and ſuch a true ſenſe of filial duty, that he would never conſider as a favour beſtowed on him, what had the leaſt tendency towards offering an indignity to his father.

He ſupported the prerogative of the crown, and the right of the king to diſpoſe of his civil revenues, without the interference of parliament, and

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to ſuffer no controul in the management of his own family. In the courſe of his ſpeech, he communicated the ſubſtance of the meſſage which had been ſent by the king to the prince, and declared that £. 50,000 a year, excluſive of the revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall, was a competent allowance, and as much as the king could afford out of the civil liſt. He expatiated on the impropriety of interpoſing between the father and ſon, deprecated the attempt to make a breach between them, entered into an hiſtorical examination of the ſeveral precedents mentioned by Pulteney, and denied that any foundation for ſuch a parliamentary interpoſition could be found, except a ſingle precedent under Henry the Sixth, whoſe reign was ſo weak, that the parliament found it neceſſary to aſſume ſeveral rights and privileges, to which they were not properly entitled. He declared, that the prince had neither a claim from equity or good policy, and ſtill leſs a right, founded on law or precedent, and he mentioned that the revenues of the civil liſt had been granted unconditionally to the king, without the moſt diſtant alluſion to a ſtipulation, that £. 100,000 per annum ſhould be paid to the prince of Wales.

Chap. 48. 1737.

The reaſons urged by Walpole, in contradiction to thoſe advanced by oppoſition, ſufficiently proved, to all diſpaſſionate perſons, that the motion was not founded on law, good policy, or precedent, and were not invalidated by the reply of Pulteney, in ſumming up the arguments on both ſides.

But

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Period VI. 1735 to 1737. But a confident and plauſible aſſertion, advanc by a ſupporter of the motion, made a deep i preſſion on the houſe, and ſeemed to vindicate t proceedings of the prince, and to arraign the co duct of the king.

" By the regulation and ſettlement of t prince's houſehold, as made ſome time ſince his majeſty himſelf, the yearly expence comes £.63,000, without allowing one ſhilling to royal highneſs for acts of charity and generoſi By the meſſage now before us, it is propoſed ſettle upon him only £.50,000 a year, and from this ſum we muſt deduct the land tax, whi at two ſhillings in the pound, amounts to £.5,0 a year, we muſt likewiſe deduct the ſixpen duty to the civil liſt lottery, which amounts £.1,250 a year, and we muſt alſo deduct the f payable at the exchequer, which amount to abo £.750 a year more, all theſe deductions amou to £.7,000 a year, and reduce the £.50,000, p poſed to be ſettled upon him by the meſſage, £.43,000 a year. Now as his royal highneſs no other eſtate but the duchy of Cornwall, wh cannot be reckoned, at the moſt, above £.9,0 his whole yearly revenue can amount but £.52,000, and yet the yearly expence of houſehold, according to his majeſty's own re lation, is to amount to £.63,000, without all ing his royal highneſs one ſhilling for the ind gence of that generous and charitable diſpoſit with which he is known to be endued in a eminent degree. Suppoſe then we allow him £.10,

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which he made to the prince in the name of his party. But forty-five Tories conſidered the interference of parliament as hoſtile to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, highly democratic, and ſuch a dangerous innovation, that they quitted the houſe in a body before the diviſion; an act highly honourable to thoſe who refuſed to ſacrifice their principles to their party.

In the lords.

On the 23d, the ſame motion was made in the houſe of peers by lord Carteret, and a ſimilar debate enſued. It was negatived by a large majority of 103 againſt 40, and a proteſt was inſerted only by fourteen peers. *

Miſ-ſtatement of oppoſition.

But although this unconſtitutional propoſition was thus thrown out in parliament, yet the ſmallneſs of the majority in the lower houſe, proved the difficulties under which the miniſter laboured. His cauſe was highly unpopular. The oppoſition introduced the queſtion in every ſhape and form which was moſt likely to attract the public attention, and in the periodical papers and pamphlets, written with all the addreſs and ſubtlety which the talents of the great leaders of the minority could ſupply. Among other pamphlets which were circulated with zeal, and read with avidity, was one intitled, "A Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country, on the Motion for addreſſing the King to ſettle £. 100,000. per Annum on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales." This work was written with ſuch an air of candour, and plauſibility of argument, and yet contained

* Lord's Debates.

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tained ſo much bitterneſs and acrimony, that the miniſter himſelf reviſed the anſwer, which was compoſed by lord Hervey, called "An Examination of the Facts and Reaſons contained in a Pamphlet intitled, A Letter, &c." In this work, Sir Robert Walpole made ſeveral inſertions, which prove the importance of the letter, and which are ſtill extant in his own hand-writing among the Orford Papers. He here commented with greater freedom than he could venture to do in parliament, and anſwered the arguments in favour of the motion with more ſpirit than moderation, and more indignation than temper. Chapter 48. 1737.

That part of his inſertions which is moſt worthy of notice, was the anſwer given to the ſtatement made in the houſe, reſpecting the prince's eſtabliſhment, ſaid to have been regulated by the king. From a fair inveſtigation of the paper which the prince's officers had ſhewn to the houſe, he demonſtrated, that it was not an *eſtabliſhment*, but a calculation founded on the expenditure of preceding years; that it was exaggerated and overcharged in almoſt every branch, and that ſo far from having been regulated by the king, his majeſty had not even a knowledge of its exiſtence.

The indiſcretion of the prince in bringing ſo unconſtitutional a queſtion before parliament, contrary to the judgment of his real friends; the violence of his counſellors, and particularly the petulant and indecorous inſinuations thrown out

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againſt the queen * in the courſe of the debate, highly offended the king, and rendered the breach between the father and ſon irreparable. Coldneſs, reſerve, and diſtance increaſed. The prince conſidered himſelf a ſtate priſoner in the palace of his father, pined for a releaſe, and ſeized the firſt plauſible pretence of emancipating himſelf from the controul of his parents.

The prince leaves Hampton Court. July 31.

The royal family being at Hampton Court, the princeſs of Wales was ſeized with the pangs of child-birth, and the prince, without the leaſt intimation to the king and queen, hurried her away to St. James's, where ſhe was that night delivered of a princeſs, before the queen, or any of the officers of ſtate, who were accuſtomed to be preſent, could arrive.

The prince apologized for his abrupt departure to the queen, who went the next morning to viſit the princeſs. He obſerved, that the ſuddenneſs with which his wife was ſeized, rendered it neceſſary to obtain immediate aſſiſtance, and that it was thought moſt prudent to return to London, where good aſſiſtance was to be obtained, than wait till the phyſicians and midwives could arrive at

* Walpole having in his ſpeech maintained that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales, and that in the caſe of Richard, who on the death of his father, the Black Prince, was created prince of Wales, in conſequence of an addreſs or petition from parliament, that meaſure was in all probability directed by Edward the Third: In reply to this aſſertion, the oppoſition indecorouſly alluded to the influence of queen Caroline over the king, and her preference of the duke of Cumberland to the prince of Wales, by obſerving, that Edward doated in his old age, and was ſolely governed by Alice Pierce, and *his ſecond ſon* the duke of Lancaſter.

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at Hampton Court, which might be too late; he entreated the queen to explain to the king the motives which induced him to retire from Hampton Court, without intimating his deſign, which the hurry of his departure had alone prevented; and he profeſſed alſo his intention of waiting on the king that morning. The queen adviſed him to delay this viſit for a few days, in which the prince acquieſced. He repeated the ſame apology to Sir Robert Walpole and lord Harrington, who had come by the king's command to be preſent at the birth. The king, however, was not moved by this juſtification, but reſolved to expreſs his reſentment in a manner no leſs public, than that in which he conceived the indignity was offered. A draught of a meſſage was accordingly prepared by Sir Robert Walpole, and ſubmitted by him to the conſideration of the lord chancellor, lord Wilmington, and lord Harrington. The chancellor, with a view to ſhew great tenderneſs to the ſituation of the princeſs, and to gain time for conciliation, before the moſt aggravating circumſtances of the rupture were rendered permanent, and incapable of modification, by being committed to writing, diſapproved the draught, and propoſed another in more ſoft and gentle terms.

Reſentment of the king.

" The king hath commanded me to acquaint your royal highneſs, that his majeſty is moſt heartily rejoiced at the ſafe delivery of the princeſs, but that, on account of certain circumſtances in your royal highneſs's behaviour relating to that

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event, which have given his majesty just offence, he thinks it not proper to see you, with the particular reasons whereof he will cause your royal highness to be acquainted in due time."

Lord Wilmington, who seldom declared himself explicitly on any subject, supported, however, with unusual warmth, the original draught; and as lord Harrington was silent, the chancellor's alteration was rejected, and the original carried. On the 3d of August, it was sent to the prince by lord Essex, the lord of the bedchamber in waiting, and contained these words:

His message.

"The king has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness, that his majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe delivery of the princess, but that your carrying away her royal highness from Hampton Court, the then residence of the king, the queen, and the family, under the pains, and certain indications of immediate labour, to the imminent danger and hazard both of the princess and her child, after sufficient warnings for a week before, to have made the necessary preparations for this happy event, without acquainting his majesty or the queen with the circumstances the princess was in, or giving them the least notice of your departure, is looked upon by the king to be such a deliberate indignity, offered to himself and to the queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness, that he resents it to the highest degree."

In reply to this message, the prince wrote a letter, in which, after expressing his mortification

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at having diſpleaſed the king, he juſtified his conduct, repeated the ſame motives as he had ſtated to the queen in perſon, and requeſted permiſſion to wait upon the king the next morning. This requeſt having been rejected, the prince repeated, in another ſubmiſſive letter, his earneſt hopes of being reſtored to favour. No anſwer was returned to this application, but a meſſage from the king was conveyed by the earl of Dunmore, appointing the baptiſm to be performed on the 29th, declaring, that he ſhould ſend the lord chancellor to ſtand god-father as his proxy, the queen's lady of the bedchamber for the queen, and deſiring the princeſs to appoint one of her ladies of the bedchamber to repreſent the dowager ducheſs of Saxe Gotha, the other god-mother. Chapter 48. 1737. Auguſt 4.

The prince took this opportunity to reiterate, both to the king and queen, his application for pardon, with increaſing earneſtneſs and humility. His entreaties, however, had no effect. The king adopted the violent reſolution of making a total ſeparation between his family and that of the prince, by diſmiſſing him from his reſidence in the palace of St. James's. In taking this reſolution, he was, if not confirmed, at leaſt not oppoſed by the miniſter.

The prudence and moderation of the chancellor ſaw the danger of ſuch a ſeparation. However diſagreeable his interpoſition might be, both to the king and Walpole, he thought it his duty to prevent, if poſſible, ſuch extremities. With this Conference between the chancellor and Walpole.

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view, he went over to New Park, and had a long and intereſting conference with Sir Robert Walpole. *

" He laid it down as a principle, that in this nice affair, two great points were always to be purſued. Firſt, the real and eſſential intereſt of the king and his family, in which the whole of the kingdom was involved; and next, the ſupport of that authority and reverence, which was due to his majeſty. That it was the duty of his miniſters and ſervants to endeavour to combine both theſe views, and in their conduct not to loſe ſight of either. That he could not help thinking, that if there was a diſpoſition to it, a reconciliation might be effected conſiſtently with both; but if that ſhould be found impoſſible, a total ſeparation muſt indeed be ſubmitted to. However, he begged leave to lay before him ſeveral conſiderations, which ſeemed material in this great queſtion, ſome whereof diſtinguiſhed the caſe from that of the quarrel in the late reign, and made the preſent breach more formidable.

" 1. That it ought to be conſidered what influence it would have on the ſide of the queſtion, which had been once moved in parliament, and was expected to be brought there again, viz. the prince's demand of a larger allowance, and this upon different ſuppoſitions. It appeared to him, that if the king ſhould be finally in the right, and the prince continue, as he was certainly at firſt,

* This conference is given verbatim, from lord Hardwicke's intereſting narrative before mentioned.

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firſt, on the affair of the departure, in the wrong, it would ſtrengthen the king as to that queſtion; for nobody could, with any ſhadow of reaſon, maintain that the king could with decency be addreſſed to increaſe his ſon's allowance, while he was ſtanding out in defiance. But on the other hand, it muſt be attended to, that this offence was ſuch as to admit of a ſatisfaction between a father and a ſon; and if the world ſhould think the prince had made a proper ſubmiſſion, and yet the king turn him out of doors, it would ſtrengthen the prince in his demand; ſince it might then be ſaid, that the king had cauſeleſsly obliged him to live by himſelf, with an increaſe of family, at a great expence. He added, that it muſt be expected that even thoſe who leaſt wiſhed a reconciliation, would adviſe him to make ſuch a ſubmiſſion, when they were ſure it could not, or would not, be accepted.

" 2. That in the next place, the ſituation and circumſtances of the royal family deſerved the greateſt attention. In the late reign, the difference concerned only the king and prince; there were no other children to be affected by it. The moment the breath was out of the late king's body, it was at an end as to the royal family, though particular ſubjects might feel its effects. That now the caſe was far different. A queen conſort, the duke and four princeſſes, not to include the princeſs of Orange, muſt neceſſarily be, to a degree, involved in it. If the prince ſhould ſurvive his father, he muſt, and by the courſe of law

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law and nature, ought to reign. All these will be more or less in his power. The queen possibly least of all is; but how far the honey-moon of a new reign may carry men as to her large jointure, no one can foresee. The others absolutely. Yet these must now, as they justly deserve, live at court in the sun-shine of the king and queen's favour, the prince being excluded. This will naturally breed an alienation of affection, great envying and much ill blood, which may break out into fatal consequences when the prince shall find himself their sovereign. Add to this, that it is not probable that any settlement will ever be obtained from the parliament to make cadets of the royal family, independant of any person who shall wear the crown.

"3. He next considered the case of the prince's children. Either the king must take the custody of them, or leave them with his royal highness. If he should take them, having a favourite younger son, and several daughters, justly dear to him, what jealousies and suspicions may not arise in case of accidents. Malice may even suggest what was once believed in France, of the late duke of Orleans. If the king should suffer these branches of the royal family to remain with the prince, will it not greatly weaken the former, and strengthen the latter? And at length, they will be bred up under the same influence which is now objected to their father.

"4. As to the administration, what an inundation of pensions did the breach in the late reign produce!

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produce! What a weight did that bring on my lord Sunderland's miniſtry! And it ſhould be conſidered whether even that miſerable expedient will be found practicable under this king. The preſent demands of mankind will riſe on one ſide in proportion as greater hopes are held out on the other. It put lord Sunderland on ſtrong meaſures to ſecure himſelf, which yet he could not carry. Witneſs the peerage bill, wherein were ſeveral proviſions tempting to the Whigs, and yet they rejected it.

"5. It will make a coalition between the Whigs deſperate and impoſſible. Before this, the Whigs in oppoſition wanted a head, became liable to the diſagreeable imputation of conſtantly acting with the Jacobites; had no proſpect of ever coming into any ſhare of power, but by reuniting with their old friends. They will now find a head in the prince, and he, being the immediate ſucceſſor in the proteſtant line, will be an irrefragable anſwer to the reproach of Jacobitiſm. Beſides, the Whigs, as a party, will, in good policy, not wiſh ſuch a coalition, unleſs it could be accompanied with a reconciliation between the father and ſon, leſt it ſhould throw the ſucceſſor wholly into the hands of the Tories, and make their cauſe deſperate when he comes to take poſſeſſion; whereas, by having one ſet of Whigs in the prince's favour, the party will have a fair chance to be preſerved from ruin when that event ſhall arrive.

"6. Laſtly,

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"6. Laſtly, it muſt not be forgot, that if the king ſhould carry his reſentment ſo far as to remove his ſon out of his palace, it will be neceſſary that ſome account of a tranſaction of this high nature in the royal family, ſhould be given to foreign courts. This meaſure was taken in the late reign. If the prince ſhould at length fully ſubmit himſelf to his father, and do that which the world ſhall judge a complete ſatisfaction for the late offence, what reaſons can openly be aſſigned to juſtify ſuch a conduct? He would not ſay that reaſons might not be ſuggeſted, from a ſeries of conduct offenſive and provoking in many other reſpects; but when once thoſe come to be coolly examined, he ſuſpected whether they would be found ſuch, as it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, publicly to avow and explain."

"The miniſter allowed all theſe to be conſiderations of great weight, without attempting to take off their force, except as to that of the prince's children, who, he ſaid, were intended to be left with their parents, whilſt of tender age, only for nurture. The great point on which he laid his ſtreſs, was that the king had now an advantage, by the prince having put himſelf ſo much in the wrong, which ought not to be parted with. That he was apprehenſive there muſt be a total breach before there could be a complete reconciliation; and to make up the particular difference about carrying away the princeſs from Hampton Court, without the grand point, would not

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not be ſo much as ſkinning over the ſore, which would infallibly break out again worſe than ever. That it was impoſſible to reconcile the whole without money, and that could not now be obtained; neither was it fit to adviſe the king to make ſuch an advance, until his ſon, by proper acts of ſubmiſſion, and declared alteration of conduct, ſhould put himſelf in a condition to deſerve it. Chapter 48. 1737.

" As to the ſubmiſſion already made, he enlarged much on the offenſive behaviour to the queen; and in particular, objected that, although the king in his meſſage had charged the *fact to be a high indignity to himſelf and to the queen*, the prince had not in any of his letters aſked her pardon, or ſo much as made an excuſe to her majeſty for what he had done."

" Hereupon, the chancellor took occaſion to obſerve, that this was manifeſtly the game of thoſe adviſers of the prince, who intended to prevent a reconciliation; and as this laſt was their point, they could not play their cards better. That conſequently the moſt effectual method of diſappointing it muſt be the beſt play on the other ſide: and as the queen had great talents, as well as great power with the king, would not it become her wiſdom to ſuppreſs the woman's reſentment, and take the contrary part to that into which theſe men wiſhed to drive her? That in his opinion, if her majeſty continued unmoved by their ill uſage, and in ſpite of all their provocations would reconcile the father and ſon, ſhe would endear herſelf to the nation more than ever,

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ever, and make an abſolute conqueſt of all her enemies at once."

Theſe ſenſible repreſentations not only had no effect on the miniſter, but even ſeem to have made a contrary impreſſion; for he ſaid afterwards to ſome of his friends, "The lord chancellor made me a long viſit, and talked like an angel on the ſubject of the prince, yet I thought his arguments made for my concluſion rather than his," which induced the chancellor to lament the ſhortneſs of human foreſight, and exclaim, in the words of Virgil,

"Neſcia mens hominum fati, ſortiſque futuræ,
"Et ſervare modum rebus ſublata ſecundis.
"Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum,
"Intactum Pallanta et cum ſpolia iſta diemque.
"Oderit." *

Conduct of Walpole.

Although it cannot be denied that the conduct of the prince had given great and deſerved offence to the king and queen, and that in particular his behaviour to the queen had been highly diſreſpectful, yet it cannot at the ſame time be ſufficiently lamented, that the miniſter involved in the intereſts of party, the feuds of the royal family. He conſidered the ſtruggle as much between himſelf and oppoſition, as between the king and

* "O mortals! blind in fate, who never know
"To bear high fortune, or endure the low!
"The time ſhall come, when Turnus, but in vain,
"Shall wiſh untouch'd the trophies of the ſlain,
"Shall wiſh the fatal belt were far away,
"And curſe the dire remembrance of the day."
DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

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and prince, and knowing the prince's averſion to his miniſtry, viewed a cordial reconciliation as tending to his removal. Chapter 4. 1737.

Under theſe impreſſions he had drawn up, by order of the king, the ſubſtance of a meſſage to be delivered to the prince, ordering him to remove from the palace of St. James; and he communicated it confidentially to the lord chancellor, the duke of Newcaſtle, and Pelham, for their opinion, before it ſhould be ſubmitted to the whole council. He produced two letters, ſent by the prince to the king and queen after the chriſtening; and acquainted them, that the king was not ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion made by his ſon. He added, with regard to the king himſelf, they were mere words, and calculated to be offenſive and provoking to the queen. None of the letters contained any aſſurance of a change of conduct, or of acting in ſubordination to his father's will for the future. The prince was entirely under the influence and direction of perſons whom the king had thought fit to remove from his councils and ſervice, and who were in a determined oppoſition to all his meaſures; and lord Cheſterfield and lord Carteret were known to be with him in private every day, and were called into his cloſet after the levee, as regularly as the king's miniſters were called into his. He recapitulated many particulars, to ſhew that the prince had avowedly ſet himſelf at the head of a faction in oppoſition to the king, and that theſe letters were underſtood by the king to proceed from their dictates, and intended

Farther proceedings in the cabinet.

September 5.

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intended only to amuſe and deceive him. That things being in this ſituation, the king had reſolved not to permit his ſon to reſide any longer in his palace, but to ſend an order for his departure, with his whole family, as ſoon as it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs, and had commanded him to prepare a draught of a meſſage for that purpoſe, which he then read.

The chancellor and his friends having expreſſed their concern, and delivered their opinion, that ſuch a meſſage ſhould be avoided if poſſible, conſiſtently with the king's honour; the miniſter replied, that ſuch was the king's final reſolution. It was then propoſed, that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the prince, acquainting him with the kind of ſubmiſſion which was required of him, and the alterations in his conduct, which the king expected as the terms of the reconciliation. But the propoſal was rejected by Sir Robert Walpole, as likely to beget mutual altercations, and produce a paper war between the king and his ſon, which would be attended with ſtill more fatal conſequences than taking it *ſhort at firſt*.*

The draught of the meſſage was then taken into conſideration. It was couched in very harſh and improper terms, and contained indecorous reflections, inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown, and the ſtation of the diſputants. A paragraph towards the concluſion, expreſſed a ſevere reproach on *perſons in general* reſorting to the prince, who

* Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.

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who did not pay their court to the king, but oppoſed his meaſures, called them a FACTION, with other ſtrong and harſh words. To all theſe, the chancellor objected, as a ſtyle improper between princes, and indecent from the king to his ſon. He thought, if a meſſage of this nature muſt go, it ſhould be ſtrong, but full of decorum. Sir Robert Walpole declared his opinion, that, as the prince had plainly ſet himſelf at the head of the oppoſition, it was right to carry the war into the enemy's country; and as they attacked the king through the ſides of his miniſters, to return it by falling on the prince's adviſers. To this the chancellor replied, that, as to ſuch adviſers as fomented this fatal diviſion in the royal family, the harſheſt words which language could furniſh were not too much; but his objection was, that, as the draught then ſtood, it compriſed more, and might extend to all that came to the prince, who happened to differ from the king's miniſters in parliament, and did not come to court. That this would include ſome perſons of the firſt quality and eſtates in the kingdom, beſides great numbers of others who were only miſguided; and as it was probable this paper might one time or other be laid before the parliament, it might give riſe to very diſagreeable debates and queſtions there. The duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pelham acceded to his opinion; whereupon moſt of thoſe expreſſions and epithets were at length ſtruck out, and that remarkable paragraph entirely changed and confined to the *adviſers* of the prince, who

Chapter 48. 1737.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. *fomented the diviſion in the royal family, and thereby weakened the common intereſt of the whole.*

On the 9th of September, this meſſage was laid before the lords of the cabinet council who were not abſent from London. *

Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them with the ſeveral cauſes of the king's diſpleaſure againſt the prince; he ſaid, for theſe reaſons the king was of opinion that the families ſhould be ſeparated, and deſired their advice on the method of doing it; he had, by the king's order, and with his approbation, prepared the draught of a meſſage to the prince, which he ſhould now ſubmit to their conſideration. He at the ſame time intimated, that the king thought the ſtyle of the draught *full gentle* enough. He then read the letters which had paſſed between the prince on one hand, and the king and queen on the other; and directed them to obſerve the difference between the narrative of the fact contained in the firſt letter to the king, and the accounts which he gave to the queen, as well as to lord Harrington and himſelf, the morning after the labour, which laſt he read from ſome minutes to which lord Harrington had agreed. He obſerved, with great emphaſis, that theſe letters were ſpecious empty words, without any

* Preſent. Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Potter)—Lord chancellor—Lord Godolphin (lord privy ſeal)—Duke of Grafton (lord chamberlain)—Duke of Richmond (maſter of the horſe)—Duke of Newcaſtle—Earl of Pembroke (groom of the ſtole)—Earl of Clay—Lord Harrington—Sir Robert Walpole—Sir Charles Wager.

Abſent. Lord Preſident (in Suſſex)—Earl of Scarbro' (in Yorkſhire, and not ſufficiently recovered to attend buſineſs—Duke of Devonſhire (in Ireland)—Duke of Dorſet (at Namur)—Duke of Argyle (in Oxfordſhire.)

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any aſſurances or alteration of conduct, and laid great ſtreſs on the variations between the letters to the king, and thoſe to the queen, and particularly requeſted them to remark, that in the letter to the queen, the words, *your majeſty*, were never uſed, but only *madame* and *vous*. He then read the draught of the meſſage.

The lords ſufficiently teſtified their concern, by their looks and expreſſions. They underſtood this to be a communication of the king's determined reſolution, which was not to be changed. They agreed that he was undoubtedly maſter in his own family, and as he had been highly offended, he was to judge whether he would forgive or reſent. They conſidered that their advice was only required as to the *method*, not the *meaſure*, and therefore proceeded to take the draught into conſideration. A few exceptions were made to the terms. Two were made by the lord chancellor, the firſt to the words, *I cannot ſuffer myſelf to be impoſed upon by them*, as too harſh, and not adequate to the dignity of the perſonages concerned, he propoſed to inſert, *I cannot, conſiſtently with my own honour and authority, ſuffer them to have any weight with me*. But this alteration was not adopted. The ſecond objection was to the word *rendezvous*, as too low and coarſe; and as all the lords concurred in the ſame opinion, it was omitted, and the word *reſort* ſuffered to ſtand alone. In the place of, *you ſhall not reſide in my palace*, inſerted at the propoſal of the archbiſhop, lord Godolphin offered, *I think it not fit that you ſhould*

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reſide in my palace; an alteration which was approved by the chancellor, as expreſſive of the king's opinion, and properly introductive of the ſubſequent command to leave St. James's. This was rejected on the obſervation of Sir Robert Walpole, that thoſe words could not be conſidered as ſufficiently ſtrong.

After making a few other verbal alterations of little conſequence, the meſſage was agreed to, and ſubmitted to the final approbation of the king. *

The manner of ſending it to the prince was propoſed to be by a meſſage ſigned by the king at the top, with his name at length, and with the two firſt letters at the bottom, after the form of inſtructions; and that an order, ſigned by his majeſty, ſhould be delivered to the perſons who ſhould be charged with carrying it, reciting the meſſage in the very words, and commanding them to read it to, and leave it with his royal highneſs. It was alſo agreed, that copies of this meſſage ſhould be privately delivered to the ſeveral foreign miniſters in England, and other copies ſent to the king's miniſters reſiding abroad, as a *ſpecies facti*, or narrative of the king's reaſons for this proceeding with his ſon.

Other particulars were mentioned, and it ſeemed to be the general ſenſe of the lords that they ſhould be regulated in like manner as upon the *ſeparation* in the late reign; but it was thought proper to leave them to the perſonal direction of the

* Narrative.

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the king himſelf, without offering any particular advice thereupon. On Saturday, September 10th, this meſſage, ſigned as before mentioned, was ſent to the prince by the duke of Grafton, Duke of Richmond, and earl of Pembroke, who had a ſigned order, as above deſcribed, for their juſtification. Chapter 48. 1737.

" The profeſſions you have lately made in your letters, of your particular regard to me, are ſo contradictory to all your actions, that I cannot ſuffer myſelf to be impoſed upon by them. You know very well, you did not give the leaſt intimation to me, or to the queen, that the princeſs was with child, or breeding, until within leſs than a month of the birth of the young princeſs: you removed the princeſs twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery, from the place of my reſidence, in expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her labour; and both times, upon your return, you induſtriouſly concealed from the knowledge of me and the queen, every circumſtance relating to this important affair: and you at laſt, without giving any notice to me, or to the queen, precipitately hurried the princeſs from Hampton Court, in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined meaſures, expoſed both the princeſs and her child to the greateſt perils, you now plead ſurpriſe, and tenderneſs for the princeſs, as the only motives that occaſioned theſe repeated indignities offered to me, and to the queen your mother. The prince ordered to quit St. James's.

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"This extravagant and undutiful behaviour, in ſo eſſential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is ſuch an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and ſuch a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excuſed by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or diſguiſed by ſpecious words only.

"But the whole tenor of your conduct, for a conſiderable time, has been ſo entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reaſon to be highly offended with you.

"And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from thoſe by whoſe advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until you return to your duty, you ſhall not reſide in my palace, which I will not ſuffer to be made the reſort of them, who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the diviſion which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common intereſt of the whole. In this ſituation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifeſt a juſt ſenſe of your duty and ſubmiſſion, *that* may induce me to pardon, what at preſent I moſt juſtly reſent.

"In the mean time, it is my pleaſure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs. I ſhall for the preſent leave to the princeſs the care of my grand-daughter, until

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a proper time calls upon me to conſider of her education." Chapter 48. 1737.

All farther application from the prince being ineffectual, he retired from the palace, to Norfolk Houſe, in St. James's Square, where he took up his reſidence, and his houſe became the centre of political oppoſition. The king accordingly Feb. 27, 1738. iſſued an order, forbidding all perſons who paid their court to the prince and princeſs of Wales, from being admitted into his preſence at any of the royal palaces.

All the correſpondence which paſſed between the king, queen, and the prince, on this unfortunate occaſion, was publiſhed, by authority of the court, and diſtributed to each of the foreign miniſters in England, and to the Britiſh embaſſadors abroad.

As the meſſage delivered on the 10th of September, contained many reflections on the prince, which no man of honour could forgive,* the meaſure tended ſtill farther to irritate him, and to ſupply an excuſe for his reſentment to the king, and his deteſtation of the miniſter, who incurred the principal blame in this whole tranſaction, and was accuſed of fomenting the miſunderſtanding, to ſerve his own ſiniſter purpoſes. The prince gave credit to theſe imputations. Walpole was held out as the man who having ſo often, nay, ſo conſtantly ſacrificed the national intereſt to his avarice, his ambition, and his fears, had now ſacrificed Anger of the prince.

* Opinions of the ducheſs of Marlborough.

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crificed to his paſſions the peace of his maſter's family, and taken that opportunity to make him declare a proſcription to all thoſe who oppoſed the miniſter. *

Review of Walpole's conduct.

In reviewing the conduct of Walpole in this delicate tranſaction, he cannot be wholly exempted from blame; nor is it eaſy to aſcertain in what degree he was culpable. He had, on former occaſions, earneſtly laboured to reconcile the father and ſon, and had infuſed into the king a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance. This caſe was attended with peculiar difficulties, which can never be fully appreciated. Lord chancellor Hardwicke himſelf ſays, "Sir Robert Walpole informed "me of certain paſſages between the king and "himſelf, and between the queen and the prince, "of too high and ſecret a nature, even to be "truſted to this narrative; but from thence, I "found great reaſon to think that this unhappy "difference between the king and queen, and his "royal highneſs, turned upon ſome points of a "more intereſting and important nature, than "have hitherto appeared." †

It is, however, juſtly remarked by the ſame candid obſerver, that thoſe who attempted to reconcile the breach, were not liſtened to on either ſide. On the part of the prince, thoſe who wanted to ſet him at their head, againſt his father's meaſures, ſeemed to have it in view to write ſuch

* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, Correſpondence.

† Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.

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ſuch letters to the king as might read well when publiſhed to the world, be taken for a ſubmiſſion, and at the ſame time effectually prevent that from being accepted, by provoking the queen, and thereby cut off the chance of mediation, and ſhut the only door through which any reconciliation could enter. On the other ſide, Sir Robert Walpole ſeemed to think, that they had now an advantage over the prince which ought not to be parted with, and that it would be better for the adminiſtration to have a total and declared ſeparation, than that things ſhould remain in the precarious ſtate in which they then ſtood. *

Lord Hardwicke's interview with the prince.

In the courſe of this unfortunate tranſaction, the prince gave ſigns of high ſpirit and extreme ſenſibility; a ſtriking inſtance of which is recorded by lord chancellor Harkwicke, which I ſhall relate in his own words. † "On the fourth of Auguſt, the day of proroguing the parliament, I went to St. James's in my way to Weſtminſter, in order to enquire after the health of the princeſs of Wales, and the new-born princeſs. After I had performed that ceremony, I went away, and was overtaken at the further end of Pall-mall, by one of the prince's footmen, with a meſſage that his royal highneſs deſired to ſpeak with me.

"Being returned, I was carried into the nurſery, whither the prince came immediately out of the princeſs's bedchamber, and turned all the women out of the room. Having ſaid many civil things, and made me ſit down, he ſhewed me

* Lord Hardwicke's Narrative. † Ibid.

a meſſage

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a meſſage which he had received the day before from the king, which he ſaid, he preſumed I, being one of the cabinet, muſt have ſeen before. Without ſtaying for an anſwer, he made a long apology for his conduct, much to the effect of his firſt letter to the king, with this addition, that if the king, who was apt ſometimes to be pretty quick, ſhould have objected to her going to London, and an altercation ſhould have ariſen, what a condition would the poor princeſs have been in? He then ſaid, he would read me two letters he had written, the one to the king, and the other to the queen; whereupon I aſked him whether they had been ſent, for if they had not, I was determined in my own mind not to have ſeen or heard them read. He anſwered, they were ſent the day before by my lord Jerſey, and then read them. He aſked me what I thought of them? at which I bowed, and ſaid nothing. He went on, that upon thoſe letters the king ſent word he would not ſee him; but he did not think fit to let it reſt there on his part, and had ſent another letter by lord Carnarvon that morning, which he read, and aſked me, if it was not very reſpectful; to this I anſwered, *very reſpectful*; and indeed, it was a much more proper letter than the former.

" I then proceeded to tell his royal highneſs, that I had heard nothing of this unhappy affair, till my going to Hampton Court on the Tueſday before, to congratulate the king and queen on the birth of their grand-daughter. That I then found

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found their majeſties highly offended with what had paſſed, and I ſhould be unjuſt to his royal highneſs, if I concealed from him, that, from the circumſtances preceding and accompanying the carrying away the princeſs, they underſtood it to proceed from a deliberate intention to take that part without their privity. I added, that incidents of this nature gave the deepeſt concern and affliction to every one who wiſhed well to the whole royal family, and to none more than myſelf. That every occaſion of that kind ought to be removed; for that *union* in the royal family was moſt eſſential to the true intereſt and preſervation of it. That the contrary gave the moſt formidable advantages to their enemies; whereas nothing could hurt any branch of it when united. That I hoped his royal highneſs would ſhow ſuch a ſubmiſſion and dutiful behaviour to the king his father in the preſent juncture, as would tend to bring about this union, and that I was ſure it would be the zealous endeavour of the king's ſervants, and in particular of myſelf, to do every thing that might facilitate it. Chapter 48. 1737.

" He anſwered, my lord, *I don't doubt you in the leaſt, for I believe you to be a very honeſt man*; and as I was riſing up, embraced me, offering to kiſs me: I inſtantly kneeled down, and kiſſed his hand, whereupon he raiſed me up and kiſſed my cheek. The ſcene had ſomething in it moving; and my heart was full of the melancholy proſpect that I thought lay before me, which made me almoſt burſt into tears. The prince obſerved this, and

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. and appeared moved himſelf, and ſaid, *let us ſit down, my lord, a little, and recollect ourſelves, that we may not go out thus.* Soon after which, I took my leave, and went directly to the houſe of lords."

CHAPTER THE FORTY-NINTH:

1737.

Illneſs—Fortitude—and Death of Queen Caroline.—Virtues.—Grief of the King.—Affliction of Sir Robert Walpole.

Illneſs of the queen. I SHALL cloſe the tranſactions of the year 1737, with the illneſs and death of queen Caroline, an event highly diſaſtrous to the country, to the king, and to Sir Robert Walpole. This illuſtrious and amiable woman, had been for ſome time in a declining ſtate of health. The diſorder under which ſhe had laboured, and which occaſioned her death, was a rupture, which, from motives of delicacy, ſhe had communicated only to the miſtreſs of the robes, her favourite lady Sundon: ſhe was even ſo imprudent as to conceal the cauſe of her illneſs from the medical men who were called in to her relief. This falſe delicacy, which was incompatible with her uſual magnanimity, was the cauſe of her death. For the medicines which were adminiſtered, and the methods taken, were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which would have been adopted, had her diſorder been known. Judging from the ſymptoms, and from her own declarations, the phyſicians treated it as the gout in

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in her ſtomach, and adminiſtered ſtrong cordials, which aggravated the malady. When the danger became ſo imminent as to render the concealment impoſſible, it was too late. She ſubmitted in vain to the moſt painful operations, and the ſurgeon who performed them declared, that if he had been acquainted with her real ſituation two days ſooner, her ſpeedy recovery would have been the conſequence. *

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Although racked with extreme agony, almoſt without intermiſſion, during twelve days and nights, ſhe bore her ſufferings not only with patience and reſignation, but almoſt without a groan, maintaining, to the moment of her diſſolution, ſerenity, temper, dignity, greatneſs of ſoul, and an unaffected ſubmiſſion to the ways of Providence. In all this melancholy ſcene, ſhe behaved with ſuch invariable courteſy to every one about her, that one of the phyſicians obſerved, he had never met with a ſimilar inſtance in the whole courſe of his practice. She repeatedly expreſſed to her attendants, her grateful ſenſe of their laborious watchings, and diſtinguiſhed each of them with appropriate marks of regard.

She recommended her ſervants, in the moſt affecting and ſolemn manner, to the king's favour and protection; extended her concern to the loweſt of them, and was equally warm in her ſolicitude for their welfare; recounting to him the faithfulneſs of their reſpective ſervices.

This

* Letter from Charles Ford to Swift, November 22, 1737. Swift's Works.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

This firmneſs and reſignation were not the effect of inſenſibility or ſtoical indifference, but derived from the ſtrongeſt exertions of reaſon and religion. On the ſecond day of her illneſs, ſhe was obſerved to ſhed ſome tears, occaſioned either by the lowneſs of her ſpirits, the anguiſh of her ſufferings, or by tenderneſs for the deſpair of her family; ſhe ſoon, however, recovered from this debility, and reſumed her accuſtomed fortitude. Apprehenſive that during a painful operation, ſhe had ſo far forgotten herſelf as to uſe peeviſh expreſſions, ſhe reproached herſelf with having ſhewn an unbecoming impatience.

She frequently declared that ſhe had made it the buſineſs of her life to diſcharge her religious and ſocial duties; ſhe hoped God would pardon her infirmities, and accept the ſincerity of her endeavours, which were always intended to promote the king's honour, and the proſperity of the nation. She declared that ſhe was a hearty well-wiſher to the liberties of the people; and that if ſhe had erred in any part of her public conduct, it aroſe from want of judgment, not from intention.

Death.

A little before ſhe died, ſhe ſaid to the phyſician, "How long can this laſt?" and on his anſwering, "Your majeſty will ſoon be eaſed of your pains;" ſhe replied, "The ſooner the better." She then repeated a prayer of her own compoſing, in which there was ſuch a flow of natural eloquence, as demonſtrated the vigour of a great and good mind. When her ſpeech began to faulter,

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faulter, and ſhe ſeemed expiring, ſhe deſired to be raiſed up in her bed, and fearing that nature would not hold out long enough without artificial ſupports, ſhe called to have water ſprinkled on her, and a little after deſired it might be repeated. She then, with the greateſt compoſure and preſence of mind, requeſted her weeping relations to "kneel down and pray for her." Whilſt they were reading ſome prayers, ſhe exclaimed, "pray aloud, that I may hear;" and after the Lord's prayer was concluded, in which ſhe joined as well as ſhe could, ſhe ſaid, "So," and waving her hand, lay down and expired. * Chapter 49. 1737. November 20.

Having already diſcuſſed the character of the queen, I ſhall only add a few traits to the preceding ſketch. † She was bleſſed with a natural ſerenity and calmneſs of mind, and often expreſſed her thankfulneſs to God, that he had given her a temper which was not eaſily ruffled, and which enabled her to ſupport every difficulty. It was truly ſaid of her, that the ſame ſoftneſs of behaviour and command of herſelf, that appeared in the drawing room, went along with her into her private apartments, gladdened every body that was about her perſon, accompanied her as well in the gay and cheerful ſeaſons of life, as under the moſt trying circumſtances, and did not fail her even in the hour of death itſelf. Virtues.

One part of her conduct, which reflects the higheſt

* The principal circumſtances of her death, are extracted from Dr. Alured Clark's Eſſay towards the Character of Queen Caroline.

† Chapter 31.

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highest honour on her memory, was her maternal attention to her children, and particularly to her daughters. She superintended their education, directed their behaviour, formed their manners, and tempered her reproofs with a mixture of proper severity and kindness, which rendered her equally beloved and respected.

Aspersions examined.

The enemies of queen Caroline, have represented her as being of an unforgiving temper, and even reproached her with a want of maternal affection. It was maliciously suggested, that she fomented the misunderstanding between the king and the prince of Wales; but on the contrary, she exerted her utmost influence to abate the petulance of the son, and the irritability of the father. Once in particular, when an action of the prince had been represented to the king with malicious aggravation, the queen defended her son, and good naturedly observed, "Ce n'est qu' une indiscretion de page:" 'Tis nothing but a youthful frolic.* The tongue of slander has even reproached her with maintaining her implacability to the hour of death, and refusing her pardon to the prince, who had humbly requested to receive her blessing. To this imputation, Chesterfield alludes in a copy of verses, circulated at the time:

"And unforgiving, unforgiven dies."

Pope also has consigned to posterity this aspersion, in terms of malignant irony:

"Or

* From lord Orford.

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" Or teach the melancholy muſe to mourn, Chapter 18.
Hang the ſad verſe on CAROLINA's urn, 1737.
And hail her paſſage to the realms of reſt,
All parts perform'd, and ALL *her children bleſt.* *

I am happy to have it in my power to remove this ſtigma from the memory of this great princeſs. She ſent her bleſſing and a meſſage of forgiveneſs to her ſon, and told Sir Robert Walpole, that ſhe would have ſeen him with pleaſure, but prudence forbad the interview, as it might embarraſs and irritate the king. †

" Her charities were limited only by her re- Liberality.
venue; though ſhe avoided all appearance of oſtentation ſo much, that many perſons who ſubſiſted by her bounty, were wholly ignorant of their benefactreſs; and ſhe was ſo liberal that her public and private liſts, with the occaſional ſums expended on the ſame account, amounted to near a *fifth* part of her whole income." ‡

Her

* See Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue 1, l. 79. The ſatiriſt, with a duplicity not unuſual to him, has affected in a note to repair the inſult offered to her memory, by obſerving, that her laſt moments manifeſted the utmoſt courage and reſolution. It is, however, juſtly obſerved by Dr. Warton, on this paſſage, that, " no ſubtle commentary can torture theſe words to mean any thing but the moſt poignant ſarcaſm on the behaviour of this great perſonage to her ſon on her death-bed:" and adds, that " about the ſame time, Pope wrote a couplet on the ſame ſubject:"

" Here lies, wrapt up in forty thouſand towels,
The only proof that Caroline had bowels."

The evidence that Pope was the author of this infamous quibble, which is generally attributed to Cheſterfield, is not given by Dr. Warton. Lord Mansfield had it from Pope himſelf, told it to lord Orford, from whom I received it, with a variation of " ſeven-and-twenty," inſtead of " forty thouſand towels."

† From lord Orford.

‡ Character of Queen Caroline, p. 12.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

Her diſpoſition was ſo humane and benevolent, that the unfortunate in all ſituations and religions were ſecure of her protection. She paid a particular attention to thoſe Roman Catholics, whoſe zeal in favour of the Pretender had expoſed them to the rigour of the laws. Several Popiſh and Jacobite ladies, and particularly the duchefs of Norfolk, were admitted to private conferences. Their repreſentations procured liberal ſupplies of money to many of the moſt indigent. In ſome inſtances, ſhe even carried her protection to an impolitic extreme, and in a manner which diſtreſſed Sir Robert Walpole. Archibald earl of Ilay, who principally managed the affairs of Scotland, having been reproached for permitting ſo large a number of Jacobite meeting-houſes in Edinburgh, and in other parts of the kingdom, in open defiance of the laws; acknowledged the fact, and exculpated himſelf, by declaring that he had laid a ſcheme for ſuppreſſing them before the miniſter, who diſcouraged his attempt, by obſerving, their friends had a ready acceſs to the queen by the back ſtairs, and all his efforts would be defeated. *

Patronage of learning.

A conſpicuous part in the character of queen Caroline, was her great patronage of learned men. The protection ſhe afforded to the firſt luminaries of the church has been ſlightly mentioned. She diſtinguiſhed Clarke, Hoadly, Butler, Sherlock, Secker, and Pearce, with peculiar marks of regard.

* Etough, imparted by Archibald duke of Argyle.

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gard. The gracious manner in which ſhe liſtened to recommendations of literary eminence, is well diſplayed in an anecdote relating to the celebrated author of "The Analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion." Secker *, while he was king's chaplain, mentioned, in converſation with the queen, Butler, who was then rector of Stanhope. The queen ſaid, ſhe thought he was dead, and making enquiries of archbiſhop Blackburne, if he was not dead, his anſwer was, "no madam, but he is buried." Soon afterwards, without ſolicitation, ſhe appointed him clerk of her cloſet, and he uſed to attend her every day, from ſeven to nine, in the afternoon. She alſo cauſed his name to be inſerted on the liſt for a vacant biſhopric. Chapter 48. 1737.

Obſcurity, diſgrace, and baniſhment, were no obſtacles to her bounty and protection. She conferred benefactions on Stephen Duck, who from a common labourer, had raiſed himſelf into notice as a poet. She obtained the pardon of Savage, who was condemned to death for having committed a murder in a drunken fray, in ſpite of the oppoſition of his unnatural mother, and ſupported him with an annual penſion. † She ſhewed her

* Life of Secker.

† "When Savage was diſappointed in his application for the place of poet laureat, which was given to Colley Cibber, he applied, in the bitterneſs of diſtreſs, boldly to the queen, that having once given him life, ſhe would enable him to ſupport it; and therefore publiſhed a ſhort poem on her birth-day, to which he annexed the odd title of volunteer-laureat. Not having a friend at court who would get him introduced, or preſent him, he publiſhed the poem, which was not ill calculated to ſtrike the queen. The queen ſent for the verſes, and in a few days after the publication, Savage received a bank bill of fifty

 pounds,

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737. her eſteem for the memory of Milton, by conferring a preſent on his grand-daughter. She obtained the recal of lord Lanſdowne, and of Carte, the nonjuring hiſtorian, who had both been obliged to abſcond for ſuſpected principles. *

Grief of the king. Words cannot ſufficiently expreſs the ſenſibility and

pounds, and a gracious meſſage by lord North and Grey: That her majeſty was highly pleaſed with the verſes; that ſhe took particularly kind his lines relating to the king; that he had permiſſion to write annually on the ſame ſubject; and that he ſhould yearly receive the like preſent, till ſomething better (which was her majeſty's intention) could be done for him. After this, he was permitted to preſent one of his annual poems to the queen, had the honour of kiſſing her hand, and met with the moſt gracious reception." Johnſon's Life of Savage.

From theſe now-forgotten poems, may I be permitted to quote one paſſage which alludes to the beneficial conſequences of the pacific ſyſtem, planned by Sir Robert Walpole, and ſupported by queen Caroline.

"Here ceaſe my plaint—See yon enlivening ſcenes!
Child of the ſpring! Behold the beſt of queens!
Softneſs and beauty roſe this heavenly morn,
Dawn'd wiſdom, and benevolence was born.
Joy o'er a people, in her influence roſe;
Like that which ſpring o'er rural nature throws.
War to the peaceful pipe reſigns his roar,
And breaks his billows on ſome diſtant ſhore.
Domeſtic diſcord ſinks beneath her ſmile,
And arts, and trade, and plenty glad the iſle.
Lo! Induſtry ſurveys, with feaſted eyes,
His due reward, a plenteous harveſt riſe!
Nor (taught by Commerce) joys in that alone,
But ſees the harveſt of a world his own.
Hence thy juſt praiſe, thou mild, majeſtic Thames!
Rich river, richer than Pactolus' ſtreams!
Than thoſe renown'd of yore, by poets roll'd
O'er intermingled pearls, and ſands of gold.
How glorious thou, when from old Ocean's urn,
Loaded with India's wealth, thy waves return!
Alive thy banks! along each bordering line,
High cultur'd blooms, inviting villas ſhine:
And while around ten thouſand beauties glow,
Theſe ſtill o'er thoſe redoubling luſtre throw."

* Biographia Britannica.

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and affection of George the Second during her illneſs, and his regret for her loſs. He watched by her bed-ſide with unabated attention, and could ſcarcely be prevailed on to take any reſt, till ſhe expired. Chapter 48. 1737.

As ſoon as the firſt emotions of grief had ſubſided, he loved to talk of his departed queen, recounted her virtues, and conſidered how ſhe would have acted on occaſions of difficulty. He continued the ſalaries of all the officers and nominal ſervants who were not taken into his own houſehold, and commanded a liſt of her numerous benefactions to be laid before him; ſaying it was his intention, that nobody ſhould be a ſufferer beſides himſelf. *

On her death bed, the queen teſtified her approbation of Sir Robert Walpole's meaſures, and the high opinion ſhe entertained of his capacity and rectitude. Turning to the miniſter, who with the king was ſtanding by her bed-ſide, ſhe ſaid to him, "I hope you will never deſert the king, but continue to ſerve him with your uſual fidelity;" and pointing to the king, ſhe added, "I recommend his majeſty to you." The king ſaid nothing, and the miniſter was alarmed, leſt this mode of making him of more conſequence than the king, might awaken jealouſy, and be the cauſe of his diſgrace. † But theſe apprehenſions were unfounded. The queen recommends Walpole.

The king was ſo affected with the queen's death,

* Character of Queen Caroline, p. 41. † From lord Orford.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

death, that for a long time after that melancholy event, he could not see Sir Robert Walpole without bursting into tears. About a fortnight afterwards, the king shewed him an intercepted letter, in which it was observed, that as the queen was dead, the minister would lose his sole protector. "It is false," said he, good naturedly, "you remember that on her death-bed the queen recommended *me* to you."

Affecting anecdote.

Horace Walpole has recorded a striking instance of the king's violent grief for the death of his queen, and affection to her memory, which I will relate in his own words. "Mr. Walpole can never be able to forget a melancholy epoch, when, about ten days after his arrival from Holland, upon the queen's death, his majesty found him with the princesses, in their apartment, and their royal highnesses immediately retiring, the king, with a flood of tears gushing from his eyes, which drew an equal torrent from those of his faithful subject then present, with agonies and sobs, gave a confidential detail to Mr. Walpole, of the inimitable virtues of his royal consort, that was now no more, and particularly with respect to the great relief and assistance which he found in her noble and calm disposition and sentiments, in governing such an humoursome and inconstant people; that her presence of mind often supported him in trying times, and the sweetness of her temper and prudence would moderate and assuage his own vivacity and resentment; that incidents of state of a rough, difficult, and disagreeable

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greeable nature, would by her previous confe- Chapter 48.
rences and concert with that able minister, Sir 1737.
Robert Walpole, be made smooth, easy, and palatable to him, but that he must now lead a helpless, disconsolate, and uncomfortable life, during the remainder of a troublesome reign, that he did not know what to do, nor which way to turn himself. But then recovering himself a little, he said, "as she never forgot her love and concern for me to the last moment of her days, she earnestly recommended it to me on her death-bed (and his majesty emphatically added, that it was a just and wise recommendation) to follow the advice of Sir Robert Walpole, and never to part with so faithful and able a minister; this (said the king) is now my only resource, upon this I must entirely depend." *

Some time after the queen's death, before his hour of rising, George said to baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, "I hear you have a picture of my wife, which she gave you, and which is a better likeness than any in my possession; bring it to me." When it was brought, the king seemed greatly affected, and after a short pause, he said, "It is very like, put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." At the end of two hours he rang the bell, and when the baron entered, the king said, "Take this picture away, I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe." †

Walpole

* Horace Walpole's Apology. Walpole Papers.

† Communicated by Theodore Henry Broadhead, esquire, grandson of Baron Brinkman, who possesses the portrait alluded to in the text.

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Period VI. 1734 to 1737.

Walpole was no leſs affected than the king. He deeply felt the ſevere loſs of his patroneſs in the cloſet; he appreciated the difficulty of guiding the king, when the interpoſition of his patroneſs was no more, and anticipated the embarraſſments he was about to encounter from the jealouſies of a diſcordant cabinet. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, he cloſed a letter to Horace Walpole, in which he ſpeaks of the queen's death, "I muſt have done, our grief and diſtraction wants no relation, I am oppreſſed with ſorrow and dread." *

Sir Robert always entertained a high reſpect for the memory of his royal patroneſs queen Caroline; and it was principally through a deference to her recommendation, that ſome time after her death he obtained the deanery of Wincheſter for Dr. Pearce, and placed Butler upon the bench of biſhops.

I ſhall cloſe this chapter with an elegy on the death of queen Caroline, compoſed by Dodington. †

Dodington's elegy.

When Heav'n's decrees a prince's fate ordain;
A kneeling people ſupplicate in vain.
Too well our tears this mournful truth expreſs,
And in a queen's a parent's loſs confeſs.
A loſs the general grief can beſt rehearſe,
A theme ſuperior to the pow'r of verſe;
Though juſt our grief, be ev'ry murmur ſtill,
Nor dare pronounce his diſpenſations ill;
In whoſe wiſe counſels and diſpoſing hand,
The fates of monarchies and monarchs ſtand;

Who

* Correſpondence. † Melcombe Papers.

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Who only knows the ſtate of either fit,
And bids the erring ſenſe of man ſubmit.
Ye grateful Britons, to her memory juſt,
With pious tears imbalm her ſacred duſt;
Confeſs her grac'd with all that's good and great,
A public bleſſing to a favour'd ſtate.
Patron of freedom, and her country's laws,
Sure friend to virtue's and religion's cauſe;
Religion's cauſe, whoſe charms ſuperior ſhone
To ev'ry gay temptation of a crown.
Whoſe awful dictates all her ſoul poſſeſs'd,
Her one great aim to make a people bleſt.
Ye drooping muſes mourn her haſty doom,
And ſpread your deathleſs honours round her tomb.
Her name to long ſucceeding ages raiſe,
Who both inſpir'd and patroniz'd your lays.
Each gen'rous art ſit penſive o'er her urn,
And ev'ry grace and ev'ry virtue mourn.
Attending angels bear your ſacred prize,
Amidſt the radiant glories of the ſkies:
Where godlike princes, who below purſu'd,
That nobleſt end of rule the public good,
Now ſit ſecure, their gen'rous labour paſt,
With all the juſt rewards of virtue grac'd:
In that bright train diſtinguiſh'd let her move,
Who built her empire on a people's love.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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ERRATA, Vol. II.

Page 14. l. 25. *for* Bellendon, *read* Bellenden.
36. l. 7. *for* inviolable, *read* inviolate.
67. l. 4. *after* Spain, *insert* a colon:
69. l. 24. *for* art, *read* act.
128. l. 5. *for* considerable, *read* considerably.
150. l. 24. *for* Cerberes, *read* Cerberus.
160. l. 5. *read* entered into.
173. l. 3. *for* to minister, *read* the minister.
192. l. 22. *after* excise, *insert* on.
225. l. 25. *for* or, *read* of.
319. l. 27. *after* Emperor, *instead* of a comma, a colon.
339. l. the last, *for* ruptures, *read* rupture.
340. l. 8. *after* the, *insert* propriety of.
355. l. 12. *after* Tuscany, *add* on.
375. l. the last, *after* Juliers, a comma instead of a colon.
401. l. 23. *for* at the house of lords, *read* at the bar of the house of lords.

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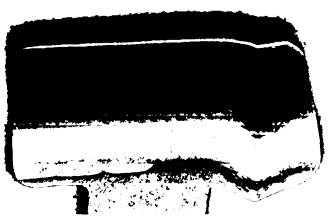

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